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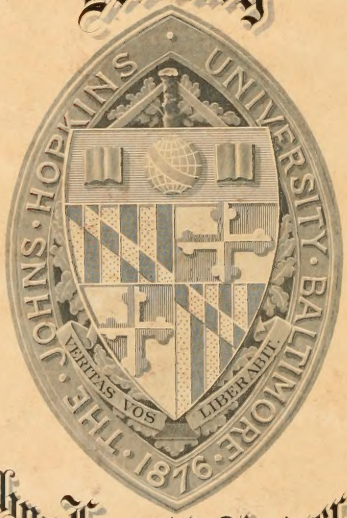

Johns Hopkins University

of the

The Ephod,

Its Form and Use.

A

Dissertation

presented to the

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Introduction.

The popular notion of the Hebrew Ephód is that of a long flowing garment, and is drawn in part, no doubt, from the description in Exodus 28 and 39, but also very largely from pictorial Bibles representing a high priest in a long robe or from sacred prints of little Samuel in a neat white tunic not unlike the surplice of a modern choirboy.

Learned commentators have set forth many widely divergent views concerning the ephod, which fall roughly into two classes. The first class presents a view, based upon Ex. 28 and 39 that the ephod was a garment and never anything else.[1] This is the opinion of all the old commentators. St. Jerome, Ep. ad Marcellam, writes: There were two kinds of ephods: one, used solely by the high priest which is the kind now generally referred to, the other, of linen

[1] This view is advanced by the ancient commentators such as Josephus and Jerome, in the Middle Ages by Rashi, and since then by Beller, Berthean, Braunius, Cassel, Dillmann, Duff, Gesenius-Buhl, Keil, Köhler, König, Lotz, Maimonides, McClintock and Strong, Meyer, Riehm, J. Robertson and Thenius.

used by minor priests and worn also by the levites and even by laymen, when engaged in a sacred rite.

The same view is emphatically stated by Thenius[1]. אפוד is nowhere (not even in Hos. 3,4) anything else than a shoulder garment, as is shown also by the fact that all the versions, in all passages where the word occurs (with the single exception of the unimportant Arabic translation of Jud. 8,27) either put the name itself, or garment, mantle and the like.

An English view to the same effect is given in a recent book[2] by Professor Robertson of Glasgow. Speaking of Gideon's ephod he says: "Whatever was made, was a thing of magnificence, and implied costly surroundings; but it is not by all this proved that ephod means an image. It may have been merely a coat of extraordinary magnificence, so heavy that it could stand alone, as we say; it may have been placed upon an image; but it was an ephod, and an ephod, as far as the usage of the language tells us, was a coat or covering.

The second class of views concerning the ephod, would make it

[1] Die Bücher Samuel's (in the Kgf. Exeg. Handb.) 2d. ed. Leipzig 1864, new ed by Budde.

[2] Early Religion of Israel, Edin. & Lond. 1892, p. 231.

in some places an image and in others a garment.[1] The citations are given somewhat at length because they are the most authoritative and recent critical opinions.

Benzinger says[2] that JHVH was very commonly represented by a bull, but almost more frequently the idol was what is called an Ephod. It appears as the proper object of worship in the celebrated sanctuaries of Dan (Jud. 17 and 18), Ophra (Jud. 8, 27), Nob (1 Sa. 21, 10, 23, 6). Of course it represented JHVH. About its form we know nothing. From the word Ephod, covering, garment, it may be concluded that it was a vessel of wood, clay, or cheap metal, and over it a mantle of gold or silver, often of great value. Its special significance lies in this, that it was invariably connected with the sacred lot. The management of the Ephod was therefore the affair of the priests; at any rate an Ephod was a

[1] Variously modified, this view is advanced by Alison Benzinger, Budde, De Wette, Driver, Eichhorn, Gesenius, Grundy, Hengstenberg, Kautzsch, Kittel, Kuenen, Lenormant, Nagelsmann, J.D. Michaelis, Montefiore, Moore, Nowack, Reuss, H. Schultz, Smend, W.R. Smith, Stade, Studer, Vatke, Wellhausen. Dillmann thinks a mask, Bellin a quiver, cf. below p. 11.

[2] Hebräische Archäologie, 1894, p. 382 f.

servant and, as a rule, a house also. It was the means whereby one inquired of God. It is remarkable that the official garment of the priests is likewise called ephod — more exactly ephod bad, the linen ephod, 1 Sa. 2, 18 and elsewhere, to distinguish it from former. It is not a bad idea of Smend's that perhaps the image was originally clothed in an ephod bad; cf. the custom among the old Arabs of putting on garments and swords (Wellhausen, Skizzen III, 99). The expression nôsê êphôd, as the name of the priest, which was afterwards referred to the linen coat, meant originally nothing else than the bearer of the image (1 Sa. 14, 3, LXX). [illegible]

Moore of Andover has the following[1]: Gideon's ephod ... was clearly an idol of some kind. (Footnote: It would be more exact to say an agalma in using the word idol here and below, I do not wish to be understood to assume that it was iconic.) All that can with certainty be gathered from them [the passages where ephod occurs in Judges and Samuel] is that it was a portable object which was employed or manipulated by the priest in consulting the oracle. In the Priests' Law-book, the ephod is a part of the ceremonial dress of the High priest to which the oracle-

[1] Commentary on Judges, New York, 1895, p 379.

pouch containing Urim and Thummim is attached; [illegible], while it is probable that the oracle of the high-priest is a survival of the ancient priestly oracle of the ephod it is impossible to explain the references to the ephod in Jud. and Samuel by the descriptions in P. More recently[1], Moore suggests that the ephod may have been a loincloth; but adheres to his former distinction between the "ephod-garment" and the "ephod-idol".

Marti of Berne, after discussing the Teraphim, says[2]: Not with [illegible] certainty can the origin of the ephod be determined. It is certain, however, that it also signifies an image of a god. But where we now find it in the OT, in this sense, it must be taken as an image of JHVH (in Ophra, where Gideon sets it up, Jud. 8, 26, 27, in Dan, Jud. 18, 14 ff, also before in 17, 5 ff, and in Nob, 1 Sa. 21, 10, 23, 6 ff.). It could, therefore, owe its origin only to a subsequent period. This, however, is not probable. Here also it is much easier to assume that the old custom of making images of gods, as the Teraphim at any rate testifies to, was transferred to JHVH. Therefore we have to discuss here the sacred object called the ephod.

The name אפוד points to the fact that, earlier, these images had an

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(1) Cheyne-Black's Encyclopædia Biblica, vol. ii, New York, 1901, [illegible] Ephod.

(2) [illegible] Geschichte der Israelitischen Religion, [illegible] 1897, pp. 99 and 101

overlaying of silver or gold (cf. Jud. 8, 24; 17, 4f. and ... were molten images were found (cf. Ex. 32; 1 Ki. 12, 28).

Sellin of Vienna[1], speaking of arrows ... in giving the tôráh, says: Perhaps they were bound together in a bundle (cf. 1 Sa. 25, 29), at any rate ... in or at the ephod. This must have been either a covering over the arrows, just as the bow and arrows of a warrior were put in a covering (Hab. 3, 9, Zech. 9, 13), or, more probably a girdle or band on which was carried the quiver with the arrows (cf. אַשְׁפָּה), and in the course of time the name of the band came to signify the entire oracle instrument. אפד never signifies an image of a god, no matter how much this is maintained as certain; not even Jud. 8, 26f. (cf. König: Hauptprobleme, p. 62). Rather is this signification excluded by Jud. 17, 4f.; 18, 14, 20; Hos. 3, 4 (cf. also Ez. 21, 27); molten image, ephod and teraphim are three separate things. Likewise is that meaning impossible in 1 Sa. 14, 18, for one man did not carry the image before his people; more likely a wagon was used. On the other hand, the word in these passages, and also 1 Sa. 23, 6; 30, 7, can as little signify the simple priestly garment, which, precisely to distinguish it from that ephod, was called ephod bad 1 Sa. 2, 18; 22, 18;

[1] Beiträge zur israelitischen und judaischen Religionsgeschichte, Leipzig 1897 II p. 115 ff

2 Sa. 6, 14. Now אֵפוֹד is certainly a covering of metal or with metal woven into it (Ex. 30, 22; Ex. 28, 8; 39, 5). It seems to me to follow as a certainty from 1 Sa. 14, 3, 18, 41 LXX; 30, 7, that ephod has this meaning, and was, therefore, either a covering over the urim, or, better, a band on which the priest carried it.[1]

Kautzsch[2] explains ephod as covering, especially the inner shoulder garment of the priest. In the Textbibel it is always retained wherever it signifies an image of JHVH used for oracular purposes, overlaid with precious metal or perhaps more correctly a shoulder garment.

Budde says[3]: It is true that אֵפוֹד signifies also a priestly garment, but only with the addition bad, 1 Sa. 2, 18; 2 Sa. 6, 14; 1 Chr. 15, 27. Both significations are later combined in the ephod of the high priest in the source P, the shoulder garment into which the oracle of the Urim and Thummim was inserted. The old ephod of our passage and those referred to, must somehow have represented the Deity and also have been later repudiated. The gods formed the

[1] Dr. Sellin's view does not exactly fit either of the two classes.

[2] Textbibel des Alten und Neuen Testamente. Erklärung der Fremdwörter, s.v. Ephod.

[3] Richter, Freiburg, 1897, p. 68

covering of a kernel of another material; but whether the word ephod is to be derived from a root signifying to draw over, cover, according to vs. 30, 22, remains very questionable.

For convenience of reference the description of the ephod as found in the Priests' Code is here given, being condensed from Ex. 28 and 39.

Ex. 39, 2 Moses made the ephod[1] of gold, blue, and purple, and scarlet, and fine twined linen. They beat the gold into thin sheets and cut it into wires, to work it in the blue, in the purple, in the scarlet, and in the fine twined linen, the work of the skilled weaver. They made shoulder pieces for the ephod joining together: the ephod was joined together at the two ends. The skilfully woven piece that was upon it, to gird it on with, was of the same piece and similar workmanship. And he made the ornament (or breastplate), the work of the skilled weaver, like the work of the ephod. The ornament was square and double, being a span in length and breadth. They bound the ornament by its rings to the rings of the ephod with a lacing of blue to keep it in place on the skilfully woven piece of the ephod and that it might not be loosed.

[1] The italicized parts, read consecutively, will give as clear an idea of this ephod as can be gotten from such a confusing description.

from the ephod. Ex. 28, 30 Thou shalt put in the ornament of judgment the Urim and Thummim that they may be upon Aaron's heart.

Ex. 39, 22: Moses made the robe of the ephod of woven work, all of blue; and the hole of the robe in the middle of it. They made upon the skirts of the robe pomegranates of blue, etc.

It must not be forgotten that the above account, taken from the Book of Exodus, is several centuries later than the latest pre exilic mention of the ephod; and to attempt to make it a starting point in an investigation of the ancient Ephod would be like trying to understand Gutenberg's first attempt at printing by starting with an intricate description of the latest cylinder press. If one is constrained to question the later composition of the Priests' Code, the following investigation may help him to see that it is not an arbitrary statement, but rather an unavoidable conclusion.

The graphic account following, which, for obvious reasons is not illustrated in our Bibles, presents the ephod in quite as interesting if not as picturesque an aspect and leads one to inquire what the ephod actually was.

In 2 Sa. 6 14ff is the story[1] of the bringing up of the Ark from the

[1] Taken from the document J, probably not later than 850 B.C.

house of the Gittite, Obed-Edom to a tent made for it at Jerusalem. David had not only succeeded Saul on the throne of Israel, but had also married his daughter Michal, 1 Sa. 18 27, who held a prominent position among his many wives. The procession in which the Ark was borne, moved along with pomp and ceremony. David danced before the sacred palladium with great enthusiasm, being girded with an Ephod. All the Israelitish nation assisted in bringing up the Ark of JHVH with shouting and the sound of trumpets. As the Ark entered the city, the women lined the way. David danced with all his might, and Michal, looking out from the palace saw him and became exceedingly angry.

[1] The distinctive name for the Tabernacle is מִשְׁכָּן, dwelling, though it was very commonly described as אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד tent of meeting. David evidently knew nothing of the Tabernacle of the Priests' Code, Ex. 26 and 35, but improvises a tent for the reception of the Ark. A comparison of 2 Chr. 1, 4 with 1, 13 shows that the Tent of meeting, אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד, was at Gibeon, according to the Chronicler, but it is inconceivable that David could have known of such a divinely ordained and venerable Tent and then have improvised another. The consciousness of its uniqueness leads David to plan the building of a temple. It may also be noted in connection with the above narrative that David could not have known of Ex. 20 26, forbidding indecent exposure during sacred rites.

The Ark was at length placed in the tent, and David, thoroughly exhausted by his long fasting, returned to his palace to greet his family. So far overcome by her feelings that she forgot all other considerations, Michal went out to meet her royal spouse and said, "How glorious was the king of Israel today, who uncovered himself today in the sight of the handmaids of his servants, as one of the shameless fellows!" David said to Michal, "I will dance before JHVH! Blessed be JHVH who chose me in

(1) The received text is evidently corrupt. After the words לפני יהוה the LXX has אֲבִיךָ וּבְרוּךְ יהוה. The phrase על ישראל seems like an explanatory gloss. וְנִקַּלְתִּי I will be vile: the LXX reads וגלֵיתי I will uncover myself, a more clear and otherwise confused statement. The Masoretic text shows signs of being tampered with. ונקלתי is an indefinite expression not corresponding to עוד מזאת. The LXX reading בעיניך in thine eyes for in my eyes brings out the antithesis which lies between Michal's feeling and that of the handmaids. Driver strangely neglects the LXX on this passage, cf. Notes on the Hebrew Text of Samuel, Oxford 1890, p. 210.

The Hebrew text restored would then read: לפני יהוה אֲבִיךָ וּבְרוּךְ יהוה אשר בחר בי מֵאָבִיךָ ומכל ביתו לְצַוֹּת אתי נָגִיד על עם יהוה [על ישראל] ושחקתי לפני יהוה: וגלֵיתי עוד מזאת והייתי שפל בעיניך ועם האֲמָהוֹת אשר אמרתָּ עִמָּם אֶכָּבֵדָה:

preference to thy father and all his kin, to appoint me prince over the people of JHVH! Aye even if I should uncover myself still more and be contemptible in thine eyes, I am sure that the girls you allude to will respect my royal dignity". The story closes with the statement: And Michal the daughter of Saul never had another child. Orthodox commentators of course attribute the curse of barrenness to divine retribution. It is more natural, however, to suppose that David was so disgusted with Michal that he ceased visiting her, which, of course, was social death to the member of a harem. Michal's jealousy would evidently not have been aroused if the ephod had been, as is commonly supposed, a long flowing garment. It is more likely that David was divested of his clothing, as was on certain occasions (e.g. 1 Sa. 19, 24 customary among Semitic peoples [Note A], and was girded with the ephod, as if an apron.

Résumé. The principal views regarding the ephod are as follows: (1) It was always a garment worn by a priest. (2) It was always a garment whether on priest or idol. (3) It was a garment and also an idol. (4) It was a garment and a quiver or quiver belt. The only description given in the OT. shows that the ephod was something depending from the shoulders to the waist, and put on over a long robe. It entirely fails to satisfy the narrative in 2 Sa. 6.

What was the Ephod?

The ephod is mentioned in seventeen different passages in the Old Testament, and the word, with slight variation in form occurs fifty times. In studying the different passages we must not overlook the fact that the O.T. is not a homogeneous whole. If therefore, we wish to ascertain the original idea of the ephod, we must treat the passages in chronological order. They cover a period of about 400 years, approximately from 700 B.C. to 400 B.C., while the actual time of the ephod, Jud. 8 27, and the first mention of the ephod may have been well on to 1000 years. There was time for development; and it is possible that the post-exilic ephod was quite different from that of ancient Israel.

More than half of all the places where the word ephod occurs refer to the priestly sections of Exodus and Leviticus, which are known to be not older, in their present shape, than 500 B.C. The historical books are not the work of a single writer, but are composed of several strata. The oldest stratum, or what is called the Judaic document, was compiled not later than 800 B.C., and to this document we must assign most of the passages from Judges and Samuel in which the ephod is mentioned. For convenience of reference the

the pre exilic passages are here given, with indications and certain abbreviations.

J = Judaic document, prior to 800 B.C.

E' = Ephraimitic " " " 750 B.C.

E² = " " " " 650 B.C.

D = Deuteronomistic Editor, about 6th Century B.C.

R^D = " expansion of the combined documents J and E (called JE) about 6th Century B.C.

P = Priest's Code, later than 550 B.C.

LXX = the Greek version called the Septuagint, not earlier than 300 B.C.

𝔄 = Aquila; Σ = Symmachus; Θ = Theodotion. Greek versions, 2d Cent. AD

V = Latin version called the Vulgate, not earlier than the 5th Cent. A.D.

O.L. = Fragments of an older Latin version.

Jud. 8, 27. [D] ויעש אותו גדעון לאפוד ויצג אותו בעיר בעפרה [J] וינאפו כל ישראל אחריו שם

LXX. εἰς εφωδ. Aliа exempl. εφουδ. Procopius in Catena Nicaph. T. II p. 150: Εφουδ, μαντεῖον ἢ εἴδωλον. 𝔄. ἐπένδυμα. V. Fecitque ex eo Gedeon Ephod, et posuit illud in civitate sua Ephra. Gideon made an ephod of it and put it in his city Ophra, and all Israel went astray after it there.

(2) Jud. 17, 5. והאיש מיכה לו בית אלהים ויעש אפוד ותרפים [J].

LXX. εφωδ καὶ θεραφιν. Syro-hex. et alia exempl. εφουδ; Ἀ, ἐπωμίδα; Σ, ἔνδυμα ἱερατικόν; Ἀ, μορφώματα; Σ, εἴδωλα. V. Qui aedi-culam quoque in ea Deo separavit, et fecit ephod et theraphim, id est, vestem sacerdotalem, et idola (O.L. et penates). / Micah had a private chapel and he made an ephod and teraphim.

(3) Jud. 18, 14. הידעתם כי יש בבתים האלה אפוד ותרפים [J].

LXX. εφωδ (alia exempl. εφουδ) καὶ θεραφιν. V. Nostis quod in domibus istis sit ephod, et theraphim? Do you know that there is an ephod and teraphim in these houses?

(4) Jud. 18, 17. ואת האפוד ואת התרפים. And the ephod and the teraphim. Perhaps a later addition, cf. Moore's Judges, Internat. Com. p. 397, and SBOT, Judges p. 62.

(5) Jud. 18, 18. ויקחו את פסל האפוד ואת התרפים [J]

LXX. καὶ ἔλαβον τὸ γλυπτὸν καὶ (1) τὸ εφωδ [alia εφουδ] καὶ τὸ θεραφιν. V. Tulerunt igitur qui intraverant, sculptile, ephod, et idola. They took the image, the ephod and the teraphim.

(1) καὶ τὸ εφωδ probably indicates that פסל האפוד, which means the image of the ephod, is a copyist's error, representing an original text הפסל ואת האפוד. This text is found in Field's Hexapla, with וַיִּקְחוּ for ויקחו.

Jud. 18, 20. ויקח את האפוד ואת התרפים ואת הפסל [J]

LXX, τὸ εφωδ [alia εφουδ] καὶ τὸ θεραφιν καὶ τὸ γλυπτόν.

V. Et tulit ephod et idola, ac sculptile. He took the ephod, the teraphim and the graven image.

1 Sa. 2, 18. ושמואל משרת את פני יהוה נער חגור אפוד בד. [E]

LXX. καὶ Σαμουηλ ἦν λειτουργῶν ἐνώπιον Κυρίου παιδάριον περιεζωσμένον εφουδ βαδ [alia exempl. βαρ[1]]. Ἀ. ἐπένδυμα ἐξαίρετον. Σ. ἐφουδ λινοῦν. Θ. εφωδ βαρ. V. puer, accinctus ephod lineo. OL. Humerali lineo. Samuel ministered before JHVH, a child, girded with an "ephod bad".

1 Sa. 2, 28. לשאת אפוד לפני. [E]

LXX. καὶ αἴρειν εφουδ [alia ἐνώπιον ἐμου]. V. et portaret ephod coram me. To bear an ephod before Me.

1 Sa. 14, 3. אחיה ... ונשא אפוד. [J]

LXX. αἴρων εφουδ. Ἀ. φέρων ἐπενδύτην. V. portabat ephod. Ahiah bearing an Ephod.

(1) Hieronomi Opp. T. VI, p. 905: Et institus, inquit, erat Samuel ephod bad, id est, in amento lineo; bad enim linum appellatur, unde et badidim lina dicuntur. Eo quo Hebraico Latinoque sermone male quidam legunt ephod bar; siquidem bar aut filius appellatur aut frumenti manipulus, aut electus, aut σῦλος, id est, crespus.

1 Sa 14, 18f. [J]. ויאמר שאול לאחיה הגישה ארון האלהים * * * ויאמר ש״ אסף ידך

LXX. Προσάγαγε τὸ εφουδ· ὅτι αὐτὸς ἦρεν τὸ εφουδ [alia

(1) The received text reads: ויאמר שאול לאחיה הגישה ארון האלהים כי היה הוא נשא הארון האלהים ביום ההוא ובני ישראל: הגישה ארון הא״ for [ארון האלהים must be read, with LXX, הגישה האפוד, not only because the Ark was at Kirjath Jearim at the time, but because the instrument of divination was not the Ark, but the Ephod, which v. 3 tells us Ahijah had with him. הגישה is the regular expression used with the ephod (cf. 23, 9; 30, 7). כי היה ארון האלהים * * * ובני ישראל As Driver remarks (cf. Notes on Samuel, 1890, p. 84), ובני ישראל is untranslatable, ו never having the force of a preposition such as עם, so as to be capable of being a predicate היה. We must read, with LXX, כי הוא נשא האפוד ביום ההוא לפני ישראל It is certainly better to suppose ובני to be corrupted from לפני than that לפני has fallen out, leaving ובני. Driver (loc. cit.) objects that לפני ישראל alone at the end of a clause is bald, and against the usage of Heb. prose. It is true that in Josh. and Chr. בני ישראל is more common, but cf. לפני ישראל in Josh. 11, 6; 2 Sa. 10, 15, 19; 1 Chr. 19, 16, 19; also מפני ישראל 2 Sa. 10, 18 and מלפני ישראל 1 Chr. 19, 15. In two of the places cited לפני ישראל ends the first half of the verse, and על-ישראל stands repeatedly at the end of the verse.

exempl. ὅτι ἦν ἡ κιβωτὸς τοῦ θεοῦ] ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ ἐνώπιον Ἰσραηλ ××× καὶ εἶπε Σαοὺλ πρὸς τὸν ἱερέα, Συνάγαγε τὰς χεῖράς σου. V. Applica arcam Dei ××× et ait Saul ad sacerdotem: Contrahe manum tuam. Saul said to Ahijah, Bring hither the ephod, for he bore the ephod at that time among the Israelites. ××× And Saul said, Withdraw thy hands.

(1) 1 Sa. 21, 10. [E!] חרב גָּלְיָת ××× זרוה הנה לוטה בשמלה אחרי האֵפוֹד

LXX. ἐνειλημένη ἦν ἐν ἱματίῳ, Θ. adds, ὀπίσω τῆς ἐπωμίδος.[1]

Σ. εφουδ. Ἀ. ἐπενδύματος. V. est involutus pallio post ephod. The sword of Goliath ××× There it is, wrapped in a mantle, behind the ephod.

(2) 1 Sa. 22, 18. [J.] וַיָּמֶת בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא שְׁמֹנִים וּחֲמִשָּׁה אִישׁ נֹשֵׂא אֵפוֹד בָּד

LXX. πάντας αἴροντας εφουδ [Alex. λίνον]. Ἀ. φέροντας ἐπένδυμα ἐξαίρετον. V. viros vestitos ephod lineo. He killed that day eighty five men bearing an ephod bad.

(3) 1 Sa. 23, 6. אֵפוֹד יָרַד בְּיָדוֹ.

Probably a marginal glss, cf. OBOT, Samuel, p. 70. The ephod went down in his hand.

[1] Hieronymus in Epist. LXIV ad Fabiolam, 15 (Opp. T. I, p. 363): Lextum est vestimentum, quod Hibraica lingua dicitur ephod. LXX ἐπωμίδα, id est, superhumerale appellant; Aq. ἐπένδυμα, nos ephod suo ponimus nomine.

1 Sa. 23, 9 ויאמר אל אֶבְיָתָר הכהן הַגִּישה האפוד. [J.]

LXX. Προσάγαγε τὸ εφουδ Κυρίου. Ἀ. ἔγγισον τὸ ἔνδυμα (fort. ἐπένδυμα).

V. Applica ephod. (David) said to the priest, Abiathar, Bring hither the ephod.

1 Sa. 30, 7 ויאמר דוד אל אביתר × × × הַגִּישה נא לי האֵפוד ויַגֵּש אביתר את האפוד

(J) [J]. דוד אל [J]. LXX, προσάγαγε τὸ εφουδ; Ἀ, προσέγγισον δή μοι τὸ ἐπένδυμα; Σ, στῆσον πρὸς με τὴν ἐπωμίδα, V, Applica ad me ephod. David said to Abiathar, Please bring me the ephod; and Abiathar brought David the ephod.

2 Sa. 6, 14. [J.] ודוד חגור אֵפוד בד. (J);

LXX. ἐνδεδυκὼς στολὴν ἕξαλλον. Ἀ. ἐπένδυμα ἐξαίρετον. Σ. ὑποδύτην (fort. ἐπενδύτην) λινοῦν. Praeterea Montefalcon edidit: ἄλλος εφωδ βύσσινον ex 1 Paral. 15, 27, ut videtur. V. David erat accinctus ephod lineo. David was girded with an ephod bad.

1 Ki. 2, 26. (11) 15 בריום הזה לא אמיתך כי נשאת את־האפוד לפני דוד אבי

LXX. καὶ οὐ θανατώσω σε ὅτι ἦρας τὴν κιβωτὸν τῆς διαθήκης Κυρίου ἐνώπιον τοῦ πατρός μου. V. quia portasti arcam Domini Dei. I will not kill thee now, because thou hast carried the ephod before my father David.

(11) This passage is to be compared with 1 Sa. 14, 18, where Arc was evidently

Hos. 3, 4 יְשָׁבוּ בְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל ... וְאֵין אֵפוֹד וּתְרָפִים

LXX. οὐδὲ ἱερατείας, οὐδὲ δήλων. Α. καὶ ἀκούοντος δι' ἐνδύματος καὶ διὰ μορφωμάτων. Σ. Θ. οὐδὲ Ἐφώδ, οὐδὲ Θεραφίν.[1] V. sine ephod et

substituted for ephod after the LXX was made, see note on p. above. In this passage the LXX represents a text: כִּי נָשָׂאתָ אֶת אָרוֹן בְּרִית יהוה so that if the change from אָרוֹן to אֵפוֹד took place it was later than the LXX, provided the LXX has not been altered. There are two arguments for the reading אֵפוֹד, apart from any desire to suppress the word Ephod (for which see p. 81), and apart from its being a natural thing for a scribe to recall the bringing of the Ark to Jerusalem (2 Sa. 6), and write אָרוֹן for אֵפוֹד: (1) The expression is not suitable, for no one person ever bore the Ark, and, on the other hand, נָשָׂא אֵפוֹד is the regular expression for a priest with the ephod. (2) The context does not suit Ark and does suit Ephod, for verse 26 refers to the afflictions which Abiathar shared with David, which can only refer to the time when David was fleeing before Saul, and Abiathar was with him, bearing not the Ark but the ephod, as is evident from 1 Sa. 23, 9 and 30, 7.

[1] Hieronymus, XXIX ad Marcellum: In Osee ... pro sacerdio et manifestationibus, in Hebraeo est, sine Ephod et sine Therapim; sicut Theod. et Sym. transtulerunt.

sine theraphim. O.S. neque Ephod (simulacrum) et Teraphim (penates).

The Israelites shall abide without ephod and teraphim.

Two post-exilic passages are appended:

Is. 30, 22 וטמאתם[1] את צפוי פסילי כספך ואת אפדת מסכת זהבך תזרם ×× .

LXX. καὶ μιανεῖς [alia exempl. καὶ ἐξαρεῖς] τὰ εἴδωλα τὰ περιηρ= γυρωμένα καὶ περικεχρυσωμένα λεπτὰ ποιήσῃς. V. laminas sculptilium ××× vestimentum conflatilis. Thou shalt defile the silver plating of thy images and thy mol= ten gold band; thou shalt scatter them —.

Ex. 39, 27,28. [P] : ויעשו ××× ואת מכנסי הבד שש משזר

LXX. καὶ τὰ περισκελῆ [Θ, βαδ] ἐκ βύσσου κεκλωσμένης.

V. feminalia quoque linea, byssina. they made the michnesē hattad of fine linen.

The Targum Onkelos has: ויתי מכנסי בוצא דבוץ שזיר

The Samaritan Targum: שריני צבארה[2] מילת משזר

Targum Onkelos, in Lev. 6, 3, gives the plural ומכנסין.

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[1] וטמאתם, instead of וטמאתם, with the LXX, and in harmony with כספך and תזרם.

[2] Kohn, Samar. Studien, Breslau, 1868, p.59, commenting on צבאר (in Ex. 39, 34) says: Der Über= setzer hat בר offenbar gleich dem arab. بَرَّ „weiss sein" genommen.

A. The Form of the Ephod. 1. Was it a garment?

In the following investigation the word ephod will refer to that which was in use before the Exile; and the chronological order will be observed wherever conducive to practical results.

As the narrative in 2 Sa. 6, 14 has been already referred to, we may begin by noting the conclusion to be drawn from it, namely, that in spite of the popular view, the Ephod was not a long flowing garment. David admits that he had uncovered himself so as to justify Michal's censure, had it not been before JHVH. That he could have uncovered himself still more, shows that he was not nude, and suggests the idea that his brief covering answered the purpose of a loincloth.[1] It is instructive to compare the post-exilic account of this event, in 1 Chr. 15, and note that the scribe thought it indecorous. Hence he clothed David with a long linen robe[2], omits חגר girded in connection with the ephod, and, apparently to justify Michal's contempt, substituted for מְכַרְכֵּר dancing, the word מְשׂחֵק playing, which is as equivocal[3] in Hebrew as in English. The episode with Michal is omitted.

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[1] Professor Haupt has suggested that the ephod was a loincloth.

[2] 1 Chr. 15, 27 מְכֻרְבָּל בְּמַעֲרֶכֶת בּוּץ may be an intentional corruption of וּבְגֵד מַעֲרֶכֶת וּמְאִיר Ex. 28, 31.

[3] Cf. the idea from פרץ in Gen. 26, 8. Prof. Haupt has kindly pointed out to me that Jos. III [illegible] is [illegible] and [illegible]; Jos. is a denomination not derived from Jos. husband; cf. παίζε = ὀχεύε in note 12 of Haupt's paper on Ecclesiastes in the Publications of the Oriental [illegible] p. 65. Cf. also the use of ludere in Hor. Ep. 2, 2, 214; and play in Milton P. L. 9, 1045.

But the expression in 2 Sa. 6 14, girded with an Ephod bad, does not imply a garment. David does not wear it, it is hung about his loins by a girdle. In the same way a sword is girded upon the loins. The original meaning of חגר as of אזר, is restrain; hence keep in place, bind on; but also prevent access to; whence חגורה a girdle, corresponding to אזור, enclosure, lap. Now חגורה[1] is the word used in Gen. 3, 7 for the fig-leaf covering made by Adam and Eve, they made themselves aprons. The margin of the A.V. calls it a thing to gird on. The meaning is evidently a loincloth. The Fr. giron has the meaning lap and also a heraldic design of triangular shape, like a primitive loincloth[2]. But the point is that חגר gird does not imply a garment, but a girding, which is associated with the waist and loins.

In fact the ephod was not a garment at all. By a garment is meant something that is worn as clothing; a towel, e.g., is not a garment though a waiter may carry it on his arm; nor is a crown, although it is said to be worn. By referring to the passages bearing on the ephod, it will be seen that twice the ephod is associated with teraphim which proves nothing.

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(1) For other instances of the use of חגר see Ex. 12, 11; 1 Ki. 20, 32; 2 Ki. 1, 8; 4, 29; 9, 1; Prov. 31, 17; Is. 5, 27; Jer. 13, 11, Ezek. 23, 15; etc.

(2) For a photograph of such a loincloth, see Mission Scientifique en Cap Horn, Hyades et Deniker (Tome VII) pl. XII, Paris, 1891.

Gideon's ephod is put in his city Ophra. The ephod at Nob was on the wall, or floor with Goliath's sword wrapped in a mantle behind it. When Abiathar flees to join David, he takes the Nob ephod in his hand. Three times the ephod is brought to a person to be used in divination. These passages would seem not suggest a garment. But there are three other passages, where one might point to the English versions as showing conclusively that a garment was meant; for in each case the translation is wearing an ephod. The word that is translated wearing is נשא bear; the Greek and Latin have αἴρω and portare. But classical literature does not furnish an example of αἴρω or portare by themselves meaning to wear as a garment; and נשא, one of the commonest verbs in the Old Testament, used perhaps a thousand times[1], never has the meaning wear except it be made for these three places as in the English versions. In one of these places, 1 Sa. 22 18, St. Jerome, influenced, it may be, by the word בד, supposed to mean linen, translates [illegible] ephod linen [illegible] there is no reason for it, since the Hebrew and Greek are the same. Now it is true that the Century Dictionary says that one meaning of wear is carry; as, e.g., country people will advise a person to wear a potato in the pocket to keep off rheumatism; but the converse does not follow; carry never means wear. These mis-

[1] See President Harper's Hebrew Vocabularies, 6th Ed. Chicago 1896.

translations of אפוד by the English word [illegible] in [illegible] phrase [illegible] ing an ephod, together with the anachronism of the Priests' code, are accountable for the notion that the ephod is essentially a garment.[1]

2. Was the Ephod an Idol?

We have now to examine the passages in Judges, 1 Sa. 21, 9 and Is. 30, 22, 5 where almost all critical commentators have felt constrained to suppose that an idol, image, agalma, or the like, is meant. A notable exception is Professor Wilhelm Lotz, whose admirable article[2] on the Ephod is apparently unknown to recent writers. It is, of course, an easy way of escaping a difficulty to say, here the ephod is an idol and here it is a garment, but it is unscientific. The feeling that it was a makeshift has given rise to many curious conjectures, to show, if possible, some connection between the idol and the garment; and so the theory has been evolved that the ephod is the covering of the wooden core of an idol, and hence a covering, i.e. a garment. Or, working on the

1 In German the word tragen may translate both אפוד bear and לבש wear. This fact has added to the confusion, since by the expression Ephodträger no distinction is made between ephod-wearer and ephod-bearer. [illegible] writing above I have noticed that Pres. Moore observes that אפוד does not mean wear, cf. the Internat. Comment. on Judges, 1895, p. 381, note.

2 See Realencyklopädie für prot. Theologie u. Kirche, Leipzig, 89? under Ephod

other direction, it has been thought that the ephod was a priestly garment on an idol, and then identified with the idol. Some have grasped eagerly at the apparent distinction between אפוד and אפוד בד, making the former an idol and the latter a garment, thus throwing the difficulty of unifying the two back upon the Hebrews themselves. But the distinction does not hold good. Others not finding any distinction in the Masoretic text wish to make one, and, as Wellhausen propose to point אֵפוֹד when it means an idol![1] But you must first determine when an idol is meant. If the LXX is any criterion when transliterations are used, Gideon's and Micah's ephod would be אֵפוֹד, represented by εφωδ, and the other places אֵפוֹד, represented by εφουδ. But those who understand an idol, always take it so of the ephod at Nob, where the Greek has shoulder piece, and so the distinction is merely due to different translators pointing an unknown word sometimes אפוד and sometimes אפוד. In fact they are all forced explanations, arising from giving undue weight to minor details, and neglecting the fundamental principle that a thing is, what it is used for; and also the ethnological axiom that "all worships that contain heathenish elements are traditional, and nothing is more foreign to them than the introduction of forms for which there is no precedent of usage"[2] If

(1) cf. Geschichte Israels, Berlin, 1883, p. 95.

(2) Robertson Smith, OT. in the Jewish Church, 188, p. 22.

ephod is an article of clothing, then it is a garment and is worn; if it is to represent or house a divinity, then it is an idol and is worshipped; but if, being neither of these, it is connected with sacred lots, then it is a means of consulting an oracle and is divined with. It is hard to discard the notion of the garment-ephod, but it is based solely on mistranslations arising from preconceived ideas, and the same is the case with the notion that the ephod was an idol.

The expressions upon which the idea of the idol-ephod is based are the following, from Jud. 8, 27, ויעש אותו גדעון לאפוד Gideon made an ephod of it. It cannot be forced to mean that all of the gold went into the ephod, — אותו refers as much to the purple raiment as to the gold ornaments, — probably but a small fraction became the material of the ephod (if indeed any of it did!), as this very condensed sentence seems to cover much more than is expressed, for instance, the cost of making, the cost of the shrine, etc. ויציגו אותו בעיר בעפרה and put it in his city Ophra. This verb is usually translated set up as though it had no other meaning; but it also signifies put or place, as in Jud. 6, 37 Gideon says, הנה אני מציג אגרת צמר I will put a fleece of wool on the threshing floor. This verb sometimes means simply to leave somewhere, as in Gen. 33, 15, אציגה נא Let me now leave some of the people with thee. One might as pertinently argue that the Ark was an idol, because 2 Sa. 6, 17 reads, ויציגו אתו as to force the

expression in the case of the ephod.[1] וזנו כל ישראל אחריו שם and all Israel went astray after it there. Without this comment it is unlikely that the notion of an idol-ephod would ever have been evolved. The verb, in this use, occurs 18 times and is usually followed by after strange gods, gods of the heathen, or idols, also by from the true God. But the phrase can also be used of seeking after a man and unto those having familiar spirits, Lev. 20, 5f., and even after whatever pleases the eyes, Nu. 15, 39. This expression[2], then, does not always mean an idol, and hence it cannot be pressed in this particular instance, to imply an idol. On the contrary, one might argue that Jud. 8, 33 was conclusive evidence that in verse 27 it means something different for it ~~cannot~~ express as soon as Gideon was dead that the Israelites again went astray after Baalim, implying that when he was alive he had kept them from idolatry. But why may not the phrase אחרי זנה refer to a lot-oracle as may be the case in Hos. 4, 12 (see below p.73)? This phrase, however, probably represents a later editorial comment; the

[1] Pres. Moore, in Internat. Com. Judges, 1895, p. 379, renders set up and makes it a prop along with the next phrase, that the ephod was "clearly an idol of some kind". He concludes that this verse, Jud. 8, 27 "imperatively requires this interpretation."

[2] For an extended examination of the phrase zānāh aḥarê see a paper of mine in the Journal of the American Oriental Society, vol. XXII, pp.

original narrative, it is agreed, had no criticism: [illegible] Lid[illegible] ipso.[1] But a narrative that has been added to is likely to be inconsistent. Pres. Moore, of Andover, has suggested as possible that ephod has supplanted a word like elohim. If so, it is easy to account for the condemnatory comment, but it is hard to see how ephod could have been substituted and the comment allowed to stand in an age when the ephod was unquestionably revered. But the point is that the phrase in question does not prove an idol, but may merely refer to a craze for some unapproved use of divination.

Again if we pass to Jud. 17 and 18, Micah makes an ephod and teraphim. There seems to be a double strand in the narrative, one part of which tells of the making of a פֶסֶל וּמַסֵּכָה, a graven and a molten image; and commentators have tried to establish a parallel between them and the ephod and teraphim of the other strand of the narrative. Moore, however, ingeniously eliminates the מַסֵּכָה[2], showing that the apparent parallel gives no ground for thinking Micah's ephod an image. Driver is certainly right in styling Micah's ephod and teraphim "instruments of divination".[3]

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(1) In Chronicon Hebr. 1699, p. 407, אחריו in this passage is interpreted to mean after Gideon's death; when the Israelites took the a. nicuhem and used it in idolatry.

(2) cf. Internat. Com. Judges, 1895, p. 375 f.

(3) cf. Introduction to Lit. of OT. 3d. Ed., 1892, p. 158.

Again in 1 Sa. 21, 10, where it is said that the sword of Goliath was wrapped in a mantle behind the ephod, it is commonly held to mean that the ephod must have stood free from the wall in order to have the sword behind it, thus suggesting an idol; but, as Lotz points out, it is much more likely that the sw[illegible] was a trophy or votive offering, eine Art Weihgeschenk, an[illegible] was ranging from some large peg, upon whi[illegible], when not in use, the ephod also was hung. He concludes, To decide from this passage that the ephod is a statue standing clear of the wall, an image of JHVH, is incorrect.

Finally, there are other commentators and scholars from Michaelis and Vatke, who is very sure, to Duhm, Smend, Gesenius-Buhl, Marti, and Budde, who considers it "very questionable", who hold a theory that the ephod was a covering, garment or mask of an idol and so practically identified with it. The theory that אפד meant originally to cover is based on Is. 30, 22, which remains to be considered. It reads as follows: (cf. also Ps. 18, No. 19)

"וטמאת את צפוי פסילי כספך ואת אפדת מסכת זהבך תזרם וגו"

Thou shalt defile the silver plating of thy images and thy molten gold band; thou shalt scatter them etc. Comparing the Greek and Latin versions it will be seen that the Latin is simply Hebrew in Latin words with

an exegetical rendering of אַפֻּדָּה by vestimentum. The Greek, however, is a translation, treating the Hebrew idiom in the first half as an instance of synecdoche. It can hardly be regarded otherwise than as a rhetorical figure, where the silver plating and the molten gold band of the פסילים are put for the images themselves. I think with Duhm, that the writer is making a special point of the outward decoration of the images is to overlook the evident condemnation of idols, not merely their adorning. Cast away the צִפּוּי and you still have the פסל. It seems unlikely that מסכה is parallel with פסילי for one would expect מסכות, and so the English versions are tacitly [illegible] it. But the chief difficulty is that מַסֵּכָה never means molten image, when, as here, it is a genitive. It means a casting, and as a genitive it means that the noun regens is not carved, nor hewn, but cast. אַפֻּדָּה is the regular feminine form of אפוד, and אַפֻּדַּת מסכה means a cast band, as עֵגֶל מסכה is a cast calf, and אלהי מסכה cast gods. The parallelism is between צִפּוּי and אַפֻּדָּה, the ornaments of the פסילים; and there is no rule that requires parallel expressions to be synonyms in more than one sense. The two things are ornaments; it is not necessary that they should both be coverings,

ror of the same material. But the [illegible] was not a covering like a garment, but apparently a decoration of an image made with silver leaf, — something to make it shine. The apuddah[1] was like it inasmuch as it was an ornament, a gold band, whether as a loincloth or belt it is impossible to say; perhaps it was the ancient ephod. Hence there is nothing here on which to base a theory that the ephod was an idol.

These, then, are the passages that are claimed for an idol-ephod, and all of them as has now shown, are patient of a quite different interpretation. It is possible to grant that they may be misunderstood of an idol if this fact were to assured beforehand; but to ground a theory on them that is inconsistent with passages better understood, is unscientific.

But if the ephod was not an idol, neither was it a gold covering of a

[1] The derivation meaning of [illegible] from [illegible] see below p. 91 f. is confirmed by the latenesses of this verse which [illegible] ephod [illegible] was [illegible] 2d. Century B.C. It is apparently a misplaced verse, as it does not accord with the context, which is improved in point of coherency by omitting it. Perhaps it belongs after Is. 1 6 where it harmonizes with the context. This interpolation of passages referring to idols is not uncommon in Isaiah, as Professor Hempt has pointed out in his recensuction of Is 40, see [illegible]; cf. Is. 40, 19, 20; 41, 6, 7; 44, 9-20; 46, 6 f.

wooden core. This distinction belongs more to craftsmen than to critics. For what worshiper in gazing at such an idol (for idol it would be) could distinguish between the inner core and the outer covering? There is no doubt that wooden kernels were overlaid with gold and silver, as in Baruch 6, 39, but they were idols not ephods. Etymologically nothing is gained, for the denomination from ephod is not to cover but bind. Another theory was been advanced by Duhm[1], that the ephod was the mask of the idol, which was worn by the priest in consulting the oracle. But the girding of the ephod was not over the eyes, but about the loins[2]. Again, to escape the idol-ephod if possible, the theory has been advanced most recently by Marti[3] that the ephod was a gold or cloth garment hung upon an idol. That this was customary among the Hebrews is not clear, but for other Semitic peoples, see Baruch 6, 33. Granting the fact, however, how can it be shown that the garment was the chief, and the idol the inferior object in the cult? If people were led into idolatry by an idol with a garment on it, it certainly was not due to the garment! This theory starts with the idea that the ephod was a garment. It is consistent, but the starting point is wrong. The ephod is an instrument of divination.

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[1] Das Buch Jesaiah, 1892, on 30, 22.

[2] See above p. 28

[3]

B. The Use of the Ephod.

Important as is the light thrown upon an unknown object by its context and environment, it is altogether inferior to that which comes from a knowledge of its use. In about half of the passages cited for the ephod there is nothing to suggest a use. To say that the ephod had always a religious significance, is not to point out a use. To say that bearing an ephod is almost synonymous with priest, is true, but does not tell what the ephod was for. It does, however, enable us to draw a reasonable inference, that, as one of the chief duties, if not the foremost duty of a priest[1] in the time of the Judges was to obtain divine oracles, so the ephod, his constant companion, was used in divination. Some travelling Danites (Jud. 18, 5, 14) learn that Micah has an ephod and teraphim, and

[1] In ancient Israel, religious functions were not restricted to a special order of men (see below p.83, n.), but any man was free to offer sacrifice or obtain oracles by the use of lots. Later the oracular function was restricted to a particular order, and ephod-bearer became synonymous with priest. The Hebrew כֹּהֵן priest is the Arabic كاهن foreteller. Later still the function of offering sacrifice was taken over to the priests and the oracular function, at least in theory, was restricted to the high-priest. For a similar change among the Incas of Peru, see Réville, Hibbert Lectures, 1884, p. 280 f.

immediately desire to consult the oracle. On a subsequent migration they carry off for their own use, priest, ephod, and teraphim. David, during his flight from Saul, is accompanied by the priest Abiathar; and on two occasions, 1 Sa. 23, 9; 30, 7, it is recorded that he said to the priest, הַגִּישָׁה אֵפוֹד is bring me the ephod.[1] Abiathar brought the ephod, and David [illegible] of JHVH. In the instances [illegible] David receives is what one might get by drawing lots. In addition to these passages there is a similar one in 1 Sa. 14, 18, which will be considered later, where Saul says to the priest Ahijah, Bring the ephod and apparently consults the oracle as David did. Now three such indisputable instances, where the action has every appearance of being quite customary seem to establish the point that the ephod is directly connected with divination. Of course it is understood that there is nothing in any other passage bearing on the ephod to oppose this conclusion. One other passage may be noted in this connection. In 1 Sa. 28, 14 where Samuel's spirit is brought up to be consulted by Saul as in his lifetime [illegible]

[1] Bertheau Das Buch der Richter und Ruth, Leipzig, 1883 p. 62. says, the demand of David, Bring the ephod, means the same as consult JHVH. But it is David who consults JHVH. The words are plain enough, and there is no suggestion of technical language. The expression is verbally varied in 30, 7, where 3 shows that David wanted the ephod for his own use. If Abiathar had carried David's vestment he might have asked for it in the same way, cf. e.g. 2 Ki. 4, 6.

up, according to a variant of the LXX[1] with an ephod about him.

To discover what purpose the ephod served in divination, some consideration must be given to that subject. By divination is meant, foretelling events by means that are directly influenced by supernatural power. Among the ancients the means used were legion; but among the Hebrews hardly more than three kinds were practiced, divination by clairvoyance, by dreams, and by lot. The first was the office of the seer; the last, at least in the early days, that of the priest. For the purposes of this investigation, it is necessary to consider only divination by lot.[2] The point to be determined is how the ephod was used in divining by lot. In the performance of this function only two things, apparently, were indispensable: the sacred lots, and some receptacle in which they were placed. The

[1] The reading of this variant, of uncertain origin, is: ἀνὴρ πρεσβύτερος ἀναβαίνων, καὶ αὐτὸς περιβεβλημένος ἐφουδ. But even supposing the Hebrew read אישׁ זקן instead בגדים, the verb זקן, which is never used with אישׁ, would go far to condemn the reading.

[2] The expression divination by lot is used without regard to the [illegible] of the lot, and therefore includes arrows and rods, but does not include dice which were not used as sacred lots (see p. 53).

Ephod may have been such a receptacle. Its association with חגר gird, suggests an apron from which the lots were cast, or a bag or pouch girded about the loins. To determine which of these the ephod was, it is necessary to know how lots were used.

1. The connection of the Ephod with Divination.

It has been noted that there was not among the Hebrews, that diversity in the methods of divination that obtained among the Greeks and Romans and also other Semitic peoples.[1] Apart from the office of the seer, and ambiguous allusions to the rod and to teraphim, the method was always casting lots. There is no doubt that in early times as well as much later, the Hebrews constantly sought the will of God by lots. In order to use such means, it is necessary to have some receptacle in which the lots are placed. From the passages already examined, it has been inferred that the ephod, whether of gold or cloth, was such a receptacle. It could be carried about by the priest or girded upon the loins for use.

The fact that the ephod was girded upon the loins seems to indicate that the hands must be free to use it, and suggests the idea that lots were drawn out of it. An examination has been made of all the

[1] See Haupts BELR in the Journal of Biblical Literature, 1900, I.

statements in regard to the use of lots, to determine whether they were drawn or cast; for this point is essential in forming an idea of the shape of the ephod. There is in fact but one passage which gives any hint as to how the ephod was used -- 1 Sa. 14, 18-20 which may be assigned to a time prior to 800 B.C. The text is corrupt but can be restored from the versions.[1] The previous narrative tells how Jonathan and his armor-bearer had put the Philistines to rout, causing a great tumult which was noticed by Saul's watchman at Gibeah of Benjamin. Saul at once assembled the people and found that Jonathan and his armor-bearer were missing. Thereupon he said to the priest Ahijah, "Bring the ephod." While Saul was speaking with the priest, the tumult in the Philistine camp burst out anew, and grew louder and louder. At this point there is a break in the narrative, and a blank space in the text ~~with the note~~[2] פסקא דאמצע פסוק

[1] The text is discussed on p.22, above.

[2] This Masoretic note, of course, means only that there was a break in the middle of the verse, caused by a defect in the surface written on, or quite possibly by illegibility of writing or an erasure. It is the lack of connection with what follows that suggests a lacuna. One would expect the priest's answer in the negative, which Saul characteristically refused to accept, cf. p.44.

cf. Wellhausen, OT in Jüdischen Altertum, 2d ed., p. 56; Kautzsch, Mitteilungen, I, 19 ff.; Cheyne-Kautzsch

— possibly indicating a lacuna — then Saul said to the priest, Take out thy hand.[1] Thereupon Saul called out to[2] attack; the people with him took up the shout and they came to the battle. The interest in the narrative for this investigation centers in the words of Saul to the priest, Take away or withdraw thy hand, or hands, [illegible] plural of the Greek; the Hebrew may be read either way. These words as a rule are interpreted to mean that Saul, naturally impatient, tells the priest to cease consulting the oracle. Thenius, for instance, says, Withdraw thy hand, i.e. let it be, we will not draw lots. That this exegesis is not satisfactory is shown by the emphasis which commentators place upon Saul's natural impatience. He would not wait for Samuel on one occasion; — but his impa-

[1] אסוף ידך LXX. Συνάγαγε τὰς χεῖρας σου. ידך is probably written defective for ידיך as דרכך thy ways for דרכיך in Ex. 33, 13; Jos. 1, 8; Ps. 119, 37; also ירכם for ירכיכם in Ps. 134, 2; cf. Gesen-Kautzsch §91, k.

אסוף Withdraw, though the ordinary meaning is gather; it is used of Jacob drawing his feet into bed and also gathering to his people Gen. 49, 33; it has the meaning to take away in Ps. 16, 10; 57, 1; 60, 20, Jer. 48, 33; Hos. 4, 3; Joel 2, 10; 3, 15.

[2] קרא may be read קרא with V. exclamavit, and perhaps LXX ἐβόησε.

tience on this occasion was not so much due to temperament as to the bleating of the sheep! On the other hand, Saul was like the men of Athens, in all things too superstitious [illegible] by ordinary means he could obtain no [illegible] must have recourse to witchcraft. Other commentators, again, explain the passage by an inference drawn from it, in this way. If Saul did not wait to consult the oracle, it must have been very complicated and long, says Benzinger[1] — and this is the reason he did not wait, etc. But if the ephod was not a magical affair, as almost all the modern commentators vaguely imply, but merely an apron from which lots were cast, or a pouch into which the priest put his hands and drew the lots, the simplest explanation is that Saul was in a hurry to attack the Philistines, and said to the priest, Take thy hands out, in order that he might know the decision of the oracle. In regard to the answer given by the lot oracle, it is probable that in 1 Sa. 28 6 we should translate לא ענה אתו did not give a favorable answer

[1] Hebr. Archäologie. p. 408. But he continues quite rightly: "— if one had to include by a series of questions the different possibilities, as this is very clearly represented in 1 Sa. 10, 20 ff." It was however a simple matter when but one question was put

instead of answered him not. The verse will read: When Saul inquired, JHVH, JHVH did not give a favorable[1] answer, either by dreams, or by Urim, or by Prophets. It is evident that Saul tried one method of divination and then another, and finally resorted to witchcraft. It seems impossible that the use of the sacred lots should give no answer at all, though tradition probably allowed but one use of them in a single inquiry. In the present case Saul presumably received a favorable answer. This seems a satisfactory glimpse of the ephod in use, and the conclusion drawn from it would be that the ephod was a receptacle into which the hands were put to draw the lots.

[illegible] most [illegible] of [illegible] whether in antiquity the custom of drawing lots was obtained. There are [illegible] in Hebrew [illegible]. They are: יצא, נפל, נטל, נתן, נגר, נפל, נשל, ירד, ירה. Seven of them mean to cast, throw, let fall; while three signify to come up and out, as from a shaken receptacle. These verbs seem to show that among the ancient Hebrews, at least, lots were not drawn but cast.

(1) Professor Haupt has shown, in BELR note 47, that נפל when indicating the answer of an oracle, technically means the favorable answer

Among the Romans also, the common expression is to cast lots. Cicero, however, mentions as if nothing unusual that the oracular lots in the temple of Fortuna at Praeneste were mingled and drawn by a child. Quid igitur si is [illegible] prius [illegible] cecidit, quae [illegible] ac monitu pueri manu miscentur atque ducuntur? (1) On the other hand in the Iliad III. 31 ff., we read that Hector shakes the [illegible] in a helmet with an up and down motion (2), with [illegible] to prevent any suspicion of partiality, and the lot of Paris quickly leaped forth. (3) In the same way the ephod, if it were originally a loin-cloth, as has been suggested, would furnish a lap from which lots could be cast. That the shaking of the lap was to some extent a familiar action, is seen from Neh. v, 13, I shook out my lap, saying, so [illegible] shake out every man from his house. But in

(1) De Divinatione, II, 41, 86.

(2) Professor Gildersleeve kindly explained to me that the motion was indicated by the verb πάλλειν which is used of Hector dandling his little son.

(3) Iliad III, 324 f. ὣς ἄρ' ἔφαν, πάλλεν δὲ μέγας κορυθαίολος Ἕκτωρ
ἄψ ὀρόων· Πάριος δὲ θοῶς ἐκ κληῖδος ὄρουσεν.

I have to thank Professor Hempl for the additional references: Sophocles, Electra 710; Alcman, fragm. 63, Il. 24, 400; 15, 191; Herod. 3, 128.

Prov. 16, 33 we read: מיהוה כל משפטו בחיק יטול את הגורל

The lot is cast in[1] the lap

But the whole disposing thereof is of the Lord.

Evidently this verse does not fit the theory of casting out of the lap. The word חיק[2] rendered lap in this verse is ambiguous. The English word that is associated with it is bosom, as also with sinus and κόλπος. But it is quite misleading to translate חיק by bosom. It is true that bosom has a wide range of meanings, but the universal significance of the word when used alone, is that part of the body where the heart is; and this, it may be safely said, חיק never means. It would be impossible for us to say, My reins are consumed within my bosom, where in Job 19, 27 חיק evidently refers to the abdominal cavity including the liver and intestines, the seat of the affections among the ancients, which we associate with the heart, and the upper or thoracic cavity of the body. This is responsible for the confusion in the rendering of חיק, and the same exists in regard to sinus and κόλπος. Bosom or heart is a legitimate translation so long as

① Pres. Moore in his article on the Ephod in the Encyc. Biblica 1900, renders חיק into the lap or pocket; but this would require בחיק instead of ב־חיק. The point is of importance in determining how lots were used.

/cf. Ezra 2 Neh. 13, col 86 Ib. Inclusion (8)

② See Note B.

they are used merely for the abstract idea of affection; but when the ancient seat of the passions had given rise to a whole sphere of associations with that part of the body about the loins and waist, such a translation as bosom is entirely misleading. In sinus and κόλπος the original idea seems to be that of bulging, protuberance etc., hence the part of the body containing the viscera; then the folds of a garment where it hangs over the girdle; whence the lap, a place of concealment, a pocket; and even a concave surface, bowl, urn. The etymology of חיק is not clear, but its meanings are developed on the same lines. Hence when we read, The lot is cast in the חיק, the reference is not necessarily to the lap of a garment, but more likely to a pouch or urn. But this, again, does not accord with the verbs which seem to mean cast out of, as Hector cast the lot out of the helmet.

The word that is almost invariably used in general reference to lot casting is גורל lot. The גורל is originally a pebble, thus suggesting that lots were commonly small and round. They may have been black and white or marked with a name. In Lev. 16, 8, 9, Aaron casts lots for the scapegoat.

גרלות

. השעיר אשר עלה עליו הגורל and ונתן אהרן על שני השעירים

Instead of rendering with the RV, Aaron cast lots upon the two goats, on

the goat [illegible] which the lot fell; it is better to read Aaron put the lots for the two goats into some receptacle and then cast upon whom the lot came up, giving reference to a receptacle answering, perhaps, to the helmet of Hector.

But in the Talmudic tract Yoma (יומא) 4, 1 the whole matter is put in a different light. Here we read "The high-priest put his hands into the urn and took out two lots, upon one was written For JHVH, and upon the other was written For Azazel"[1]. Here at last was the traditional mode of drawing lots. The word for urn, קלפי or קולפי, seems to be the late Greek κάλπη possibly akin to κόλπος, something hollowed out. The Gemarah explains that the קלפי urn was made of wood, but on one occasion a man had become renowned by making one of gold. That the high-priest snatched the lots out quickly so as not to favor of them. That the lot which was drawn in the right hand was for the goat which was near his right side, and it was considered a happy augury when the right hand held the lot inscribed לה׳.

The Talmudic tract Bâbâ Bathrâ (בבא בתרא), 122, a, also has an instructive account. Eleazar stands בין אולם Joshua raising the urn [illegible] and casting lots to divide the land among the twelve tribes of Israel.

[1] מרקד בקלפי ונעלה שני גורלות, אחד כתוב עליו לשם ואחד כתוב עליו לעזאזל.

There were two urns used; one containing 12 lots, each with the name of a tribe written on it; the other containing 12 apportionments of land. The priest put one hand into each urn, and drew in one hand the tribe, and in the other hand the portion of Canaan which was to be theirs. In both this instance and in the one before mentioned, there was a solemn communing with the Holy Spirit, who was believed to direct the drawing. This drawing of lots suggests the comparison of the method of choosing officers at Athens, where two urns were used, one for the names of the candidates, the other with white and colored beans, the person being chosen whose name was drawn simultaneously with a white bean.[1]

Of course the Mishnah is not the Old Testament, but it claims in Pirqê âbôth (פרקי אבות), I, 1, to record faithfully the ancient oral law, and reaches back as a written authority to the time of the second Temple. Here then we have a clear tradition that lots were put into an urn, or two urns as the occasion demanded, and then drawn. This oral tradition helps us to understand the account of the allotment of Canaan as given in Joshua. For instance in Josh. 17, 14 we find the descendants of Joseph complaining

[1] See Seyffert's Dict. of Classical Antiquities, under Officials. The urn used was called κληρωτρίς; cf. on this subject, κληρόω ὀμφάν, to determine by lot; κλάρος θεοπροπέων, to divine by lot; cf. Eur. Phoenissae, 852

that Joshua had placed for them but one lot and one portion for an inheritance, whereas they were really two tribes. כדון ונחלה לי אחד גורל ואחד וחבל אחד] This seems to point to the two urns, one for the lots and one for the apportionments, and the traditional method of drawing lots. We may compare here a passage in Acts 8, 21 where Peter tells Simon Magus that he has neither part (חבל ?) nor lot (גורל ?) in the matter. Οὐκ ἔστι σοι μερὶς οὐδὲ κλῆρος ἐν τῷ λόγῳ τούτῳ — nothing in either urn, may have been in the mind of the writer, who was doubtless familiar with Jewish customs; or more likely, the expression was idiomatic, originating in this custom, cf. Lev. 2, 17. [illegible] Delitzsch, [illegible] But notwithstanding these undoubted instances of drawing lots, the fact remains that the verbs used to express the use of lots are almost all verbs of casting. To settle the matter, if possible, the special instance of casting lots for the seamless robe, Ps. 22, 19, was chosen for investigation, as being the one most commonly associated with casting lots. This suggests Roman usages and the child drawing the lot at the Praenestine Oracle. Authorities like Pauly, Smith's Classical Antiquities, and Marquardt's Römische Staatsverwaltung have accepted the expression "cast lots" as stating some unexplained custom. The latter, however, refers, in a note,

to Servius on the Aeneid, a passage which will shortly be considered. A distinction must first be made between the use of sors or κλῆρος, the lot and tesserae, tali, κύβοι and ἀστράγαλοι, the dice. These do not enter into this investigation, as they are entirely confined to the gaming sphere. The common expression with dice is playing, using or throwing. In the Roman world the use of dice was prohibited by the Lex Titia et Publicia et Cornelia; the Roman soldiers could not have used them under the eyes of a Centurion; and even in Saturnalia, during the Saturnalia, they could have had no connection with divination.

To return to the lot, the verbs with sors are mostly verbs of casting like coniicere, deiicere, mittere, etc., but not the idea of casting out of a vessel, but generally in sitellam, which seems to have been a vessel with a small mouth, and filled with water, in which the lots were put, but only one of them, as they floated on the top, could appear in the small opening. Otherwise the sitella was used without water and used for drawing lots as Livy 25, 16, sitella lata et aut substituta. The expression in sitellam is like the in urnam of St. 3, 7, [illegible] est sors in urnam, [illegible] there is no Hebrew [illegible] in urnam. Finally much light was thrown on the subject by a passage

Casina of Plautus 2, 5, 34, which shows that to speak of casting lots did not mean that they were not also drawn at the same time. Halius says, Coniciam sortes in sitellam et sortior Titi et Chalino.

The passage in the Aeneid I, 508 sq, refers to the assignment of the Trojan tasks by lot:

Iura dabat legesque viris, operumque laborem
partibus aequabat iustis, aut sorte trahebat.

Servius notes that Vergil had used the correct expression: sorte trahebat; proprie dicitur est. Trahuntur enim sortes, dicuntur educuntur.

Further investigation shows that casting lots was probably the general method in classical antiquity. Sortior, indeed, denominative from sors, and meaning to draw lots, as also κληροῦμαι, is a fair index of the use of sors. Even when it is stated that the lots were cast. "Coniciam sortes in sitellam et sortior" makes the matter quite plain. This conclusion taken in connection with the Hilarius tradition as found in the Vindobon. 91 O.T. leads to serious doubt whether a custom of casting a lot out of a vessel existed.

But [illegible] still remains the question: if lots were [illegible] in [illegible], why was casting lots the well-nigh universal expression? The solution of this difficulty seems to lie in the difference between our point of view and that of the ancients in respect to divination. They believed in it, as a rule, whether Latins or Greeks and still more the Hebrews. It was an integral part of their religion. The ceremony was accompanied with prayer and it was unquestioningly believed that the supreme Wisdom directed which lot should come forth to be drawn. [illegible] was possible eliminate from the drawing. [illegible] communed with God and snatched the lots suddenly (see above, p. 50). The impersonal expressions are used: the lot came up or came forth (see the verbs, above p. 46). The statement that the lot was drawn by the priest is distinctly avoided, as though implying that God did not order it. So the child was employed at Praeneste (as, perhaps, little Samuel at Shiloh), as being more purely an instrument by whom God made known His will. The peasants in Italy still seek for children to draw lots for them, and in [illegible] the orphan children draw in the lotteries. Evidently man's part was merely the casting the lots into the urn — it was impious to speak of a man drawing them.

So Prov. 16, 33, seems to be the key to the whole difficulty. The lot is cast in the urn, but the whole disposing thereof is of the Lord.[1] In drawing, man was an impersonal agent — the lot came out. It was man's part to prepare the lots and cast (which may have had the sense of mingling[2]) them in some receptacle. Hence the verbs used with lots are not those of drawing but casting.

We have seen that lots were really drawn in divination. This requires a receptacle of a different kind than would be necessary if lots were cast out on the ground. A receptacle would be needed that would hide the lots from sight and that could be fixed in such a way that the hands would be free to use it. An urn set upon a tripod would answer the purpose if it were so shaped that the lots could not readily be seen. But this end could more easily be attained by using

[1] In Prov. 1, 14, the robbers say to the young man, גּוֹרָלְךָ תַּפִּיל בְּתוֹכֵנוּ Cast in thy lot among us i.e. put your name on a lot and cast it with our lots, so that you will have the same chance of getting the booty, as we do. But the lot may also be interpreted to mean the portion (cf. Ser. 13, 25) of the young man — put it in with our funds, let us have one purse. See Dr. Philip Schaff's Small Dict. of Bible, v. Lots.

[2] It may be for this reason that we have נפל in Prov. 16, 33, where otherwise one would expect נטל. Cf. above, p. 48, Isaiah.

a pouch which would have the additional advantage of being portable, and when used could be hung at the waist. This seems to have been the nature of the ephod. But it is necessary to extend this investigation so as to include those objects which are connected with divination by lot.

(1) The Teraphim.

There are two considerations which make it necessary to include teraphim. The ephod is associated with teraphim in Jud. 17 and 18, and Hos. 3, 4; and the teraphim are associated with divination in Gen. 30, [illegible]; also in Ezek. 21, 26 and Zech. 10, 2.

That the teraphim were of the nature of idols or simulacra, no one denies. Laban accuses Jacob of stealing his gods. Micah uses the same expression. In 1 Sa. 15, 23 teraphim are condemned along with idolatry, and appear in the same connection in 2 Ki. 23, 24. Various theories have been advanced concerning teraphim. Wake, in Serpent Worship, p. 47, quite arbitrarily identifies teraphim with [illegible] and refers to the serpent symbol of the Exodus called [illegible] Nu. 21, 1, 4, 11 [illegible], comparing also

① See Robertson Smith, OT. in Jewish Church, p. 226 (2d ed.); and Max [illegible], Die Entwickelung des [illegible], 1893, p. [illegible].

the serpent of the temple of Serapis. Grant Allen, in Evolution of [illegible] p. [illegible] cf., explains teraphim as representing [illegible] manes and [illegible] in ancestor worship. Schwally [illegible] recently derived teraphim from רפאים manes. But the commonly accepted view compares them to the Penates[1]. Further references may be found in [illegible]'s Judges International Crit. p. 3[illegible] and in McClintock and Strong's Encyc. of Biblical Lit. As to the form of the teraphim it has been supposed from 1Sa. 19, 13 that they were of human shape and size,[2] but the inference as to size is not warranted, since the human appearance was eked out by a pillow at the head; all, according to Oriental custom, being covered with the clothes. Of the mentions of the teraphim this is the only one that might seem to construe teraphim with the singular, but it is not certain; the suffixes supplied in English are omitted in the Hebrew, only one being used תְּרָפִים אֲשֶׁר לוֹ, which however may refer to David (so Budde) or even to the bed, though it is masculine gender.[3]

[1] See Note C.

[2] Not so however Stitzig, see Bibliography.

[3] Similar irregularity may be seen in several instances, e.g. Ex. 11, 6; 25, 19; Jud. 11, 34 etc., cf. Ges.-Kautzsch, § 135, o. See W. Diehl, Das Pronomen pers. suffixum [illegible] p. 3 [illegible] Hebr. in [illegible] Giessen, 1895. See also SBOT. Critical notes on Judges p. 65 f.

The LXX τὰ κενοτάφια, monuments of the dead, and Latin statues[1] in place of the [illegible] idola may be attempts to explain away the presence of teraphim in David's house, or, it may be that the teraphim among those who had given up idolatry took the form of ancestral images, reverence more or less with superstitious veneration, but not idolatry. In the account of Rachel's stealing and hiding her father's teraphim, Gen. 31, 19-35, it is evident that the word is plural, and that the teraphim were tolerably small images or she could scarcely have carried them without Jacob's knowledge or hidden them so that Laban could not find them.

The association of teraphim with divination is so frequent that it seems to indicate the principal use to which they were put. That they were not used in idolatrous worship, is to be inferred from the fact that Hosea, who hotly censures idolatry, allows the use of ephod and teraphim.[2]

[1] Note that the versions take teraphim here, as always, as a plural.

[2] In this passage, Hos. 3, 4, the prophet says of his unfaithful wife that she must abide with him many days in faithfulness but without a wife's privileges; so must Israel abide for a period of purification "without king and without prince, and without sacrifice and without maccebah, and without ephod and teraphim". Note that ephod and teraphim are more closely joined than the other couples.

But if they were idols, how could they have given answers to questions? It is quite usual for commentators to speak of consulting idols, oracular idols, etc. Now a commentator may sometimes give an oracular utterance, but an idol never! If one idol had ever given an oracle, we should never have had the magnificent assignment of idols in Is. 41, 21ff.: Hitherto Declare to us what will happen in the future that we may know that ye are gods: yea, do good, or do evil, do something, that we may all see it. Behold ye are of no account and your work is nothing at all! — yet many commentators, who will not allow any supernatural occurrence to pass without searching a natural explanation, are quite prone to imply, and use arguments in the conclusion that the idols in some mysterious way gave oracles. Rydelek e.g.[1] says that error would be avoided "si de manifestationibus idolorum, quae et consulebantur et aliquando responsa dabant, intelligamus". Again, referring specifically to the three passages which mention the ephod, two of which, 1Sa. 23, 9 and 30, 7, represent the ephod as giving oracles, Maybaum says,[2] All these passages throughout give the impression that

[1] Rydelek, Osee

(1) Die Entwicklung des altisrael. Prophetentums, 1893, p. 26.

by ephod is meant a real JHVH image. Now, either an image can give an oracle, or this supposition is untenable.[1] It may be argued that the users of them believed that they gave oracles. They may easily have thought that idols heard their prayers and influenced their destinies, but it is not credible that they believed that any idol (apart from priest jugglery) ever answered such a question as this, "If I pursue this troop, shall I overtake them?" 1 Sa. 30, 7, but David received the answer yes. Now it may have been that lots were used coram idolo and with some invocation of the idol. In the Encyc. Biblica under Divination, Davies, of Bangor, in considering Ezek. 21, 26, says, "We omit the reference to the teraphim because no new point is indicated by it; the king consulted the teraphim [singular], by shaking the arrows before it, as was always done also by the heathen Arabs." His designating teraphim as singular is quite arbitrary, see p. 58f. By con-

[1] In the same strain, [illegible] (1897, p. 26) says: תרפים in the old time undoubtedly was an idol which was used to give oracles, 1 Sa. 23, 6, 9; 30, 7. He adheres to the same view in his Richter und Ruth, 1901. On the other hand cf. Meyer, Die Israeliten und ihre Nachbarstämme, 1906, p. 457) speaks of a theory that teraphim were statues of lord mes: Nihil audivit quasi vocem subministrans responsum vel de rebus futuris × × × quod est impossibile, cum semper non possit fieri nisi per vim a Deo in natura posita

suiting the section on arrows (p.70, below) it will be seen that arrows were not always used before idols. But further on in the article, Davies says that possibly the teraphim were used as lots. Then why not here in Ezek. 21, 26? But the idea that the Hebrews consulted idols by casting lots before them is pure supposition, while the use of lots is not supposition but fact, as has been shown in regard to the ephod, and will be shown in regard to Urim and Tummim. These were real oracles, not dumb idols. The prophets could not say of them "Behold ye are of no account, and your work is nothing at all!" for great leaders in Israel had relied on them and had been victorious.

But the teraphim, says the prophet Zechariah (10, 2) have spoken vanity, כי התרפים דברו אָון והקוסמים חזו שקר and the diviners have seen a lie. The LXX in this passage, and in Hos 3, 4, renders teraphim respectively by ἀποφθεγγόμενοι and δῆλοι, terms which indicate anything but dumb idols, and in this connection should be accorded due weight. In the passage in Hosea, and also in Jud. 17 and 18, the teraphim are associated with the ephod. Micah makes an ephod and teraphim, puts them in a private chapel, secures a competent priest, and then travelers stop in and consult the oracle. With what is already known of the ephod, viz: that it was a pouch to contain the sacred lots, it seems quite likely that the teraphim were little

images used as lots. We have inferred from Gen. 31, 25, — the account of Rachel hiding her father's teraphim — that they must have been small; from Hos. 3, 4 — the prophecy of Israel's being for many days without teraphim (see note on p. [illegible] above) — that they were not condemned as idols, but associated with the ephod. The order of occurrence is always ephod and teraphim. The ephod itself was independent of the lots, which were called by another name. Urim and Tummim, as we shall see, were such lots; the arrows were lots; the gôrâlôth were lots; the teraphim seem to have been used as lots also. It is quite natural that an image, [illegible] upon [illegible] ations were as in some way a supernatural agent, should be [illegible] common household [illegible] of appeal to a wise and benevolent Power, albeit but little known. The small size of such images will cause no surprise to those who are familiar with the innumerable Egyptian images not larger than a pocket knife, or the miniature idols of the Chinese. In Ezek. 21, 26, the king of Babylon wishes to have divine guidance as to the result of an expedition. To obtain it he uses three means, of which one is consulting the teraphim. He looked for real assistance. We are probably to understand that he <u>consulted</u> the <u>Teraphim</u> as the Assyrians, though without any oracular significance, appealed to their weapons, as a sign kakke-

šum, Sanh. II, 77 [1], or as we might speak of consulting the dice. ~~and so Hosea speaks of consulting the Urim and Tummim, Jos. 7 & 22~~ (~~see above p.~~) We conclude then, that there is no Hebrew authority to prove that teraphim is ever singular, but there are three passages where it is indeed plural, and the others are more committal, or from the phrase as to size now pronounced. It is formed from the verbs image and idol makes it hard to think of the very small bust which is among the Chinese may have been the common household image. Did narrations where they are readily carried or concealed even by a woman, certainly strengthen the idea. And they were not used in idolatrous worship in the time of Hosea (c.740 B.C.) seems a fair inference (cf. above p.59), and the connection with the ephod together with the fact that it is given marks

[1] The lords of Ekron, in Palestine, seizing a moment when Sennacherib was suppressing a rebellion in Babylonia, had revolted against their king Padî, an ally of Assyria. Sennacherib unexpectedly appears in the neighborhood of Ekron. The nobles summon to their aid the kings of Muṣṣri — or Egypt, but the country between Palestine and Egypt. Sennacherib says: Ina tamirti âl Altaqê Ilamû'a sidru šitkunû, uṣâ'alu kakkešunu. In the neighborhood of Eltekeh they drew up the battle array before me, they appealed to their arms.

seems to point to the theory advanced, viz: that the teraphim were small images used as lots in divination at a period, in all probability earlier than 1000 B.C. For elaborate arguments for the identity of teraphim with Urim and Tummim, the reader is referred to Spencer's De Legibus ritualibus Hebraeorum, 1732, III, 3; and to Robertson Smith's Old Testament in the Jewish Church, 1887, p. 428, n. 4. That the teraphim were gradually abandoned seems to be indicated from the later condemnation as something classed with idolatry and coming to with like stubbornness (1 S. 15, 23, Hebrew: [illegible] is sin of divination [illegible], see p. 70, [illegible]) and stubbornness is an iniquity ([illegible], see p. 81 n. 1) [illegible] teraphim. Apparently a later comment aimed at superstitious practices, more than at the principle of divination. See also 2 Ki. 23, 24, where teraphim are classed with but not as idols.

(2) The reasons which made it necessary to investigate the teraphim apply also to the Urim and Tummim.

The origin of the Urim and Tummim as of the ephod and teraphim is unknown. The earliest document of the O.T. which mentions them is the Deuteronomic Blessing, Deut. 33, 8, which has been assigned by some[2]

(1) Cf. our head or tail, etc., German Kopf oder Wappen.

(2) Cheyne-Black's Encyclopaedia Biblica, [illegible] 490, [illegible]

to the time of Jeroboam II (782–743). The passage in no way helps to an understanding of what the Urim and Tummim were. The account in 1 Sa. 14,41 and 28,6, associates the use of the Urim and Tummim with Saul. The narrative is probably E, prior to 750 B.C.; and it is to be noted that the use of Urim and Tummim is taken as a customary thing, and [illegible] the passage in 1 Sa. 14,41, in the Hebrew, has become corrupt, it is evidently since the 3d. Century B.C., and it shows no sign of intentional alteration. The use of the Urim and Tummim[1] in divination in pre-exilic times is seen in 1 Sa. 14,41f. where Saul divines with them to discover who had [illegible] a Taboo which he [illegible] upon [illegible]. From [illegible] it will be seen that the ephod[2] was used, and we are to understand that

[1] For an excellent survey of the literature on the Urim and Tummim, see an article so entitled by Miss Arnolt in the Amer. Journal of Semitic Lit., July, 1900.

[2] In 1 Sa. 28,6 we read that Saul could obtain no oracle, neither by dreams, nor by Urim, nor by prophets. Comparing the undoubted use of the ephod by Saul, the omission of it here is proof that it was understood to be used with Urim. Cf. Driver's article on Law in Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible 1900; also Robertson Smith's O.T. in the Jewish Church, 1881, p. 428, n. 4.

the lots were drawn from it. Professor Haupt has rendered the passage as follows:[1] "Saul said: O JHVH, God of Israel, why hast Thou not responded to Thy servant this day? If the guilt be in me or in my son Jonathan, O JHVH, God of Israel, give Urim; but if thus Thou say: It is in my people Israel, give Tummim." With [illegible] and [illegible] schwally, Haupt translates אורים with curse, representing the unfavorable answer, while תמים means blameleness, acquittal, and is the favorable answer.

The general view of the size of the Urim and Tummim is gained from the description of the חשן ornament, mistranslated breastplate, in Exodus and Leviticus. This ornament, bearing twelve precious stones, was a pouch about twelve inches square, fastened [illegible] to the high-priest's breast, with an opening to allow the high-priest to take out the Urim and Tummim, which were kept within. It could scarcely have been used as a dice-box, for it could not be removed from the ephod. Here, however, we may see a trace of the pre-exilic form of the ephod,—a pouch to contain the sacred lots. It is altogether unlikely that the Urim and Tummim were

[1] See BELR in Journal of Biblical Literature, 1900 I, p. 53 and notes 54-61.

[2] Contrast Critical Notes on Numbers, SBOT, p. 59, l. 45.

ever used with the ephod, as nothing is heard of it before the Exile, and after the Return, it seems that the Urim and Tummim could not be used,[1] or rather, that they no longer existed. If they had survived the Captivity they could [illegible]. Jad Hachazaka [illegible] states that the Urim and Tummim were lost at the time of the destruction of the Temple 586 B.C.[2] Maimonides,[3] however, speaks of the Urim and Tummim having existed to complete the garments of the high-priest though they were not consulted. It seems probable that something was made to represent the Urim and Tummim.

A good deal has been made by Wellhausen, Benzinger, and Therius-Löhr of the technic of the priest in the use of lots; but the idea has arisen from a misconception of the manner in which they were used, and a misunderstanding of 1 Sa. 14, 18 and perhaps 14, 41 f., where receiving no answer may have been ascribed to a fault of technic. Undoubtedly if the

[1] Cf. Ezra 2, 63, and Bertheau-Ryssel's Commentary, [illegible]

[2] משמתו נביאים הראשונים בטלו אורים ותמים from the destruction of the former prophets the Urim and Tummim were lost.

[3] Yad Hachazaka, Pars 3, 11, 1, הלכות כלי המקדש, X. 10, ישו בבית שני אורים [illegible] ותמים כדי להשלים שמונה בגדים ואע"פ שלא היו נשאלין בהן [illegible] in the second Temple [illegible] Urim and Tummim in [illegible] consulted by them.

post-exilic priest had had the Urim and Tummim he would have used them. But not having them the idea may have grown up that they were of the nature of charms. Wellhausen, in Skizzen III, p. 144, in speaking of amulets, says: "Freytag has compared the Tummim of the high-priest, which likewise were carried at the neck. The Phylacteries and bells on the pallium show that one is not justified in repudiating the comparison. However, although the later Jews may have regarded the Urim and Tummim as a charm-ornament of the high-priest, they seem to have been originally two lots by which oracles were used for oracular purposes, was attributed any alternative you please as signification (see Vatke 323)." It is not improbable that the sacred lots had come down from heathen times and that they were originally amulets.[1] They may have been the sacred or priestly lots, while the teraphim were the common, household lots. They were marked by color, or more likely with the words by which they were called, indicating one as the favorable and the other as the unfavorable answer. Being lost at the Captivity, and forgotten, the very significance of the names was no longer recognized and the Versions render Lights and Perfections.

(3) The arrows and rods complete the list of articles used by the

[1] Cf. Brinton, Religions of Primitive Peoples, 1897, p. 148, on lucky stones.

Hebrews in divination by lot, if, indeed, the arrow is to be distinguished from the rod. It is misleading even to speak of the Hebrews in this connection, for an undoubted instance of a Hebrew (not a Bedouin) divining with arrows is yet to be found.

In Ezek. 21, 26f., "the king of Babylon stood at the parting of the way to use divination (קסם): he shook the arrows, he consulted the teraphim[1], he inspected the liver. In his right hand is the lot, Jerusalem, x x x x x" [illegible] use of arrows as lots in a dissertation [illegible] Anton Huber.[2] In the game of Meisir, arrows were used for lots. They were previously marked with names or notches, and then placed in a leathern bag or quiver, and shaken, under a sheet which was held so as to conceal the arrows from the person who shook them. When an arrow was shaken up so as to project above the others, it was drawn and handed to another person who gave it to the owner, who won according to the marks on the arrow. This gives all the facts necessary for understanding it

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[1] The idea advanced by Davies, of Bangor, (see above p.61), that shaking the arrows and consulting the teraphim were but one act is not borne out by the Hebrew. The methods used are as evidently three as any brief statement could make them.

[2] Über das „Meisir" genannte [illegible] Leipzig, [illegible].

how arrows were used. The connection with Ezek. 21, 26 is established by the word for shaking [illegible] Kalal which is the [illegible] of this passage. The lot in his hand, Jerusalem, was evidently the arrow marked Jerusalem to indicate the course of his expedition.[1] Wellhausen, Skizzen III, p. 107, comes to the same conclusion, based upon St. Jerome quoted by Gesenius, as follows: He consults the oracle according to the ritual of his people, putting the arrows into a quiver, after first marking them with the names of different places and then shaking them [illegible] what place would be indicated by the coming out of an arrow and what city he should first attack. The Greeks called this βελομαντία or ῥαβδομαντία. 10

Wellhausen's conjecture, Skizzen III p. 107, quoted by Benzinger p. 10 n. that Torah goes back to the lot-arrow and the verb יָרָה cast, used of lots and of arrows, a direction being obtained in the first instance from the way the arrow pointed when cast, is quite untenable, inasmuch as it lacks the element of chance which is the essence of divination by lot; the arrow would point [illegible] it was shot or cast. [illegible] it is first necessary to show that arrows were [illegible] cast in divination. They were shaken and drawn. It was

[1] See Haupt's BELR, notes 11–13.

this superstitious use of chance that [illegible] Mohammed forbid this use of arrows, Koran Sura 5, 4, 92; he implies that Satan is the one who directs chances, not God. Canon Driver in his article on Law תורה, in Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible, 100 seems to adopt Wellhausen's conjecture in spite of his warning: Such conjectures always remain uncertain and do not deserve too much credit. Wellhausen thereupon retracts a conjecture made with as little foundation, that תורה is related to תלה ta-lá'in, amulets. But it is easy to trace up the theory by the use of תורה in casting lots. There might be some ground for it if lots were really cast as Driver supposes, but being in reality drawn, as were the arrows, there is none. Some commentators have entered so heartily into the idea of the Lospfeile that an arrow is [illegible] shot but it is in divination. So it is with Jonathan and David, and so with Joash at Elisha's death-bed. But it is altogether unlikely, since an arrow, when shot, is gone.[1]

In regard to the use of the rod the only reference is Hos. 4, 12,

[1] Sellin in Beiträge zur Religionsgesch. 197 ff. is not convincing. Ezek. 21, 26, e.g. certainly does not show that the Hebrews used arrows. For a supposition as to the meaning of an arrow shot, see Rennes Folk. 76.

עַמִּי בְּעֵצוֹ יִשְׁאָל וּמַקְלוֹ יַגִּיד לוֹ My people consult their staff, and their rod makes known to them. From this passage no idea can be gained of the method used in divination, except the derivation of מַקְל from נקל shake, indicating, perhaps, the use of rods in a way similar to that of the arrows; and this is favored by the parallelism with עֵץ which may be used for חֵץ arrow. But it is not even certain that it was a lot at all. The reference may be to a so-called divining rod which is said to shake in the hand and indicate where water is to be found. If the use of the rod, however, was similar to that of the arrow as a lot, this verse, Hos. 4, 12 with the use of זנה to go astray after lot-oracles (see above p. 33) might be compared with Jud. 8, 27, where the same expression is used of Gideon's ephod. The rod has an extensive use in Hebrew literature as a magician's wand or pedestrian's staff, but the data that prove its use as a lot are wanting.

2. The Ephod as a part of the insignia of the Priests.

With the Captivity the ancient régime of the Hebrews came to an end and the period of Persian influence began. In all probability many old customs and usages fell into desuetude

never to be revived; many traditions derived from heathen times lapsed, and thereafter were only remembered with shame; many ceremonial objects of venerable antiquity were lost, and became names to conjure with, or were restored under new forms bearing little likeness to the old. So was it with the Urim and Tummim which were never to ap= 5 pear again; and yet the longing for them breaks forth in the Kora= thite psalm (43 2) of the second Temple: O send out Thy Urim and Thy Tummim [illegible] may lead me.[1]

But though the Urim and Tummim did not exist after the Captivity,[2] yet the חושן was made and also the ephod to which it was attached; 10 for the Babylonian Talmud, ירושלמי, 37, c, has a tradition of sages coming to a certain heathen Hama, the son of Nethina of Ashkelon to purchase stones for the ephod.[3] But though the ephod was restored in an altered form it was never again used in divination, and only survived as a part of the insignia of the high-priest. These insignia was known as the abne= 15 dance of garments, מרובה בגדים[4] which is explained as follows:

[1] see Lagarde's, Prophetae Chaldaice, XLVII. [2] see p. 68, [illegible].

[3] בקשו ממנו חכמים אבנים למפור.

[4] in Babylonian Talmud ירומא 1. 73 a, Commenting Rashi.
מרובה is partly Lewis (מרבדה) and denotes the high-priest's not full garments; cf. Lewis 74 Tal. Jer. מרבדה [illegible] where Chaldaeus Trad. [illegible]

high-priests who officiated from the day that the oil of anointment was lost (literally hidden), had their high-priesthood indicated by the abundance of their garments, that is, they wore the eight priestly garments; of which the four peculiar to the high-priest are given as: [מצנפת ואבנט ומכנסים] the robe, the ephod, the breastplate, and the gold plate.[1]

It is impossible to say with certainty just what this high-priest's ephod was. Some writers, like Riehm, consider it essentially a shoulder-piece; as Ikenius e.g. says the ephod is nowhere anything else than a shoulder garment. Others see in it a long robe with a girdle about the waist and the Hoshen, or ornament, fastened between the girdle and the shoulders. No doubt the description was plain enough to him who wrote it; but the only clue we can have to the object described must come from a knowledge of what the old ephod was. This gives us three points which, in all probability, were the traditional residuum from which the post exilic ephod was reconstructed.[2] These

(1) Note the very loose way in which the word garment is used.

(2) Robertson Smith, OT. in Jew. Ch. p. 219, says: Many features of the Hebrew life of [illegible] are reflected in lively poem in the Earlier Prophets, were obsolete long before the time of the Chronicler, and could not be recovered except by archæological research. The whole life of the old kingdom was buried and forgotten.

pouch for the sacred lots, the girding about the waist, and the equivalence of ephod-bearer and priest. Now (3) more points in the description of the later ephod are that it is an essential part of the insignia of the high-priest, the Hoshen is mentioned as a pouch for the sacred lots, there no longer in existence, and the woven piece for girding on. These have been brought out in all descriptions of the post-exilic ephod, but the point that has been overlooked is that the Hoshen was upon the woven piece (=ωπ) which was used to gird it on, Ex 28, 28, and not between this band and the shoulders as has been supposed. Moreover, the location of the woven piece was not at the waist, but higher up, over the heart, Ex. 28, 29f. Hence the band must have encircled the body just under the arm-pits. The braces[1] over the shoulders, not needed on the old ephod, were required to keep the band in place when it was no longer around the loins. The stones of remembrance are an indication of the transition to a later age and we find in some

[1] Professor Haupt has kindly suggested to me that in the description of the bronze carriages for the sacrificial basins in 1 Ki. 7, 30.40 (cf. Stade's paper in ZATW [illegible] Cf. Crit. Notes on Kings ad loc.) מוסרות means struts, oblique braces - suspenders; see the figure of Bedonim with מוסרות, Tableau [illegible]

with the fashioning of a decoration, the use of which had long since passed away. The expression over Aaron's heart is simply an indication of place; the metaphorical sense of לב was mind, as we still preserve it in the phrase to learn by heart. Rashi (Breithaupt, p. 672) says: "I have neither heard of nor found in the Talmud an exposition of the form of this ephod; but I imagine that it was a cincture of a breadth accommodated to a man's back, something like an apron (succinctorium)." [illegible] There is another indication of the location of this band. Ezek. 44, 18, giving directions as to the priestly garments, says: לא יחגרו [illegible], which appears to mean that the band shall not be so high as to be sweated under the arms, nor so low as to be liable to the same at the loins. [illegible] So Rashi: "Hence they did not gird themselves in places liable to sweat, neither at their armpits above nor their loins below." Modern attempts at restoration of the post-exilic ephod have neglected these points. Kue. [illegible] discusses it as a [illegible] to the knees, apparently confusing it with the מכנסים or robe of the ephod, Ex. 39, 22, which was not a part of the ephod, but was put on first, and is [illegible] by itself as a distinct garment, [illegible].

(1) Cheyne-Black's Encyc. Biblica, Vol. 2, New York, 1901, Ephod.

Braunius[1] has some curious pictures of the ephod and Riehm[2] has some still more curious, but they are, of course, [illegible] [illegible] as authentic.

But from the data given above we shall not be far astray if we picture to ourselves the post exilic ephod as a narrow band, probably as wide as the Hoshen, i.e. a span, encircling the body between the armpits and the loins, having jeweled braces to hold it in place, and a jeweled pouch in front - the traditional receptacle for the sacred lots. It is not hard to see in this portion of the post-exilic insignia the essential features of the ancient ephod. It cannot be termed a development, but rather a reconstruction based upon a tradition which retained the main characteristic of the ancient ephod.

3.

Conclusion.

In the light of the foregoing investigation it is apparent that many commentators have gone astray because they did not give due weight to the essential connection of the ephod with divination, - some not [illegible] magical, more specifically [illegible]

(1) De Vestitu Sacerdotum Hebr., 1701.

(2) Handwörterbuch des Biblischen Altertums, 1884, Ephod.

juggling, kind of divination, which is utterly without proof among the [illegible] but the ephod is associated with divination by lot. This is the raison d'être of the old ephod, and an investigation which overlooks it, is liable to any kind of idle conjecture. Professor Marti's error has been of this nature, and this is the difficulty with Mrs. Moore's article in the Encyclopaedia Biblica, although some of the inferences are no doubt correct and were published by the present writer in the J H U Circulars[1] over eight months before that article appeared.

That the ephod was originally an idol and afterwards became something to hold lots, is, again, opposed to the sound ethnological principle stated by W. Robertson Smith, that nothing is more foreign to traditional rites than this arbitrary introduction of new forms. Any custom that is based on a superstition cannot change, because the essential cannot be distinguished from the non-essential. This is clearly seen in the superstitious rites of the Hebrews, and especially in magical incantations [illegible]

[1] This statement is made, of course, in my own defense. The paper referred to, antedating the appearance of the Encyc. Biblica, does not state that the article on Divination by Abrahams and Cook suggests the possibility of the ephods being simply lot-boxes.

[illegible] [1]. Quintilian, I, 6, 40, says: Saliorum [illegible] cina vix sacerdotibus suis satis intellecta: sed illa mutari vitat religio et consecratis retendum est. But divination by lot was a superstition. The ephod, it is evident, goes back to times that cannot long have been distinguishable from pure heathendom. The lots used with the ephod were not common pebbles, but traditional and sacred lots, whether Teraphim or Urim and Tummim. [illegible] more important as the rites are less understood. [illegible] priest. "Now I know that JHVH will do me good, since I have gotten a Levite as my priest" [2]. The same devotion to [illegible] is to be noted in the Ceremoniale Romanum of the Roman Church. And so with the ephod, unless the proper lots were had, no oracle could be obtained, cf. Ezra 2,63, and see p.68. The very manner of drawing lots was of [illegible] importance, cf. [illegible] x 32, 4, 1 f and see p.50 above. How then can we suppose that the ephod was at one time an idol and in less than 200 years after, it was something to hold lots girded on [illegible] wish! [illegible] [3] [illegible] priest

1 [illegible], History of [illegible] Lit. 189[illegible] [illegible].

2 [illegible] Robertson Smith OT. in JCW. Ch. 1881, p.227f.

3 Prolegomena 1883, p.27.

was a בוש and later on was called עגל, a calf! It has also been suggested that the ephod must have been connected with idolatry, because in several passages the word ephod seems to have been purposely eliminated from the narrative[1]. Budde, in his commentary on Judges, 1897, p. 68, says that the old ephod must somehow have represented the deity and therefore was repudiated later. But if any such intentional corrupting of passages took place, it must have been accomplished shortly before the Captivity, since, with the exception of Wellhausen[2], commentators agree that Hosea allows the Ephod and teraphim as "necessary forms and instruments of the worship of Jehovah", to use the words of Robertson Smith, and hence the ephod could not have been an idol. As for post-exilic times it makes little difference what it was for it had evidently been forgotten and

[1] Cf. 1 Sa. 14, 18; 14, 41, 28, 6, 28, 14 LXX Variant; 1 Ki. 2, 26; also, according to Wellhausen, in Ezek. 44, 18, and 1 Sa. 15, 23 where גלם he thinks was תרפים.

[2] Kleinen Propheten, p. 103 1897 Es geschieht nicht ohne einen Anflug von Hohn, dass Hosea hier Massebe, Ephod, und Teraphim mit unschuldiger Miene aufzählt, als etwas man im Exil schwer entbehren würde: das gehört ja nun einmal dazu, so liebt ihr es ja!

yet one cannot help feeling that, had it been an idol or any object of worship, it would not have been restored as a garment, in talmudic phraseology, but, like the teraphim which represented a comparatively harmless superstition, would have been allowed to remain in oblivion. There is, however, another reason for the corruption of the passages referring to the ephod which will be mentioned presently.[1]

Having considered all the passages that throw any light on the ephod, and also the conjectures which seem to have most weight and are most recent, it remains to sum up the conclusions arrived at. Starting with the principle that what a thing is for, is the truest indication of what it is, we find that the ephod was evidently used in divination by lots. An investigation of the use of lots reveals the fact that they were said to be cast, but in reality were drawn; and the ephod was the receptacle, κληρωτρίς, that held them. Taken in connection with the passages that speak of the ephod being joined in or fastened about the waist, the original meaning of the word אפד, and the passage in 1 Sa. 9, 24, which shows how skilful it was, the ephod appears to have been a pouch, large enough to put the hands into, which was hung at the waist of the person using it. It was

[1] See under the Ephod as a survival, below, p. 84.

easily carried in the hand. Its early use was not confined to any special order of priests[1]; but, like other things originally common to all, it gradually became a priestly function. Samuel as a lad, girt with the ephod, ready to give oracles at Shiloh, is a remarkable parallel to the child that drew the oracles of Fortuna at Praeneste. The ephod was quickly consulted, though there was doubtless a technical method which was always observed. The lots were possibly teraphim in the earlier times, but the Urim and Thummim seem to be supplanting them at least as early as the time of David, though they continued to be associated with the ephod as late as Hosea, 740 B.C. There is no reason for supposing that Micah's ephod was anything different from that used by Saul and David. In regard to Gideon's ephod, when we omit the later editorial comment, there is the bare statement that it was made and placed in the city of Ophra. From this statement no theory which conforms to what is known of the ephod can be drawn. The largest probability lies in the view of it being other

[1] But Wellhausen, Proleg. (revised edition) p. 137, states that only priests could use the ephod. What shall we say then of Micah's Levite, of Samuel, or Saul, or David? See also Robertson Smith, OT. in Jew. Ch. 1881, p. 248; and Maybaum, Prophetentum, 1883, p. 10.

the ephod was later — a pouch for the sacred lots, made, it may be, [illegible] most sumptuously, as befitted the social position of Gideon, and used, as Micah's ephod was, in a private chapel such as wealthy citizens affected. It is best to leave it so. Coniectura vilis est.

Connected with the subject of the ephod, though not essential, is [illegible] in form and use, [illegible] consideration of the ephod as a survival of primitive usage for ceremonial purposes just as the use of stone knives for circumcision or the shofar in the modern synagogue, the use of candles instead of gas or electric lights at dinner parties, or the costume of the yeomen of the guard in England who are still habited in the costume of the 16th. Century, or the academic gowns, the royal crowns and sceptres, or the vest[1] of the [illegible] and etc., of Joshua in the Polychrome Bible p. 62, l. 5. In the same way the [illegible] is a survival of primitive usage. If the priests put on the ephod they did it because the ephod was the primitive [illegible] of the Semites. It has been seen that no distinction is made in [illegible]

[1] It may be noted that the vestments of the Church, especially the chasuble, alb, stole [illegible] probably the ancient official garments of civil magistrates of the early centuries of the Christian era, and rather of Syrian officials than of Greek or Roman. See the Century Dictionary, 1900, vol. 8, p. 6741.

the OT. between אפוד and אפוד בד, which has been supposed to mean linen ephod. The word בד linen has no etymology, although it has been proposed to regard it as an error for כד connected with kad, the Sumerian prototype of the Assyrian kitû, linen? This might be the case, though it would be open to the objection that the word occurs earlier than one could look for Babylonian influence. The most serious objection to the rendering linen, however, is found in Ex. 39, 28,[1] where it states that the מכנסי בד linen breeches were made of שש־משי linen! The LXX omits בד though Theodotion restores it transliterated. The Targum rendering is the same as our English versions. It seems clear that בד did not mean the material of the garment, and was misunderstood by the time the versions were made. But Professor Haupt has suggested that the אפוד בד is equivalent to περίζωμα μορίου, subligaculum membri. בד, a member of the body, as in Job 18, 13 b, is identical with בד, a part, cf. pars (virilis). In Ex. 25, 13 ff.; 1 Ki. 8, 7; Num. 4, 6, בדים means poles (Latin asser) just as φαλλός may be connected with palus. The φαλλός was

[1] See p. 26, above, where all the renderings are given.

originally a piece of fig or olive wood. The expression, in Ex. 28, 42, מִכְנְסֵי־בָד (1) rendered linen breeches is probably to be understood as a covering of the nakedness i.e. kilts.(2) The two phrases which follow, viz: לְכַסּוֹת בְּשַׂר עֶרְוָה to cover the flesh of nakedness, and מִמָּתְנַיִם וְעַד יְרֵכַיִם יִהְיוּ they shall reach from the loins to the thighs, seem to be explanatory glosses. Josephus(3) calls it the διάζωμα περὶ τὰ αἰδοῖα, and Philo περίζωμα εἰς αἰδοίων σκέπην. The mikněsê bad, if this interpretation of בד be correct, will not be breeches, properly speaking, nor bifurcated, but like the Scotch kilt, a very short skirt such as is seen on Egyptian and Babylonian monuments.

(1) For an extended consideration of the passages with בד, see Note II.

(2) According to Skeat's Etymological Dictionary of the English Language, under kilt, verb kilt to tuck up is derived from a substantive signifying lap, occurring in Swed. dial. kilta, to tuck up; cf. the Icelandic kjalta the lap, kjálta-barn, a child in the lap. The oldest form of the subst. occurs in Moeso-Goth. kilthei, the womb, from the same root as Eng. child. Thus the orig. sense of kilt as a subst. is lap, hence tucked up clothes.

(3) Antiquities, iii, 7. 1.

This was, perhaps, the commonest shape for the ancient loin-cloth; as is sought shown in fig. 1. which meets the requirements of the description of the mikhnesê bad. The loin-cloth of the Indians of Cape Horn, see p. 28, n. above, was triangular in shape and kept in place by a cord, as in fig. 2. The ephod bad, however, considering the use to which it was put, may have developed from something like fig. 3. It was not a kilt, as would appear from the meaning of חגר to gird a thing on. There was a distinction made between the ephod and that which girded it on. The sort loincloth does not make this distinction, and so the term pouch or bag has been preferred. But the ephod was not a mere loin-cloth or covering of the nakedness. The mikhnesê bad were that, and as such became a sacred garment. The ephod was not, then, a loincloth, but a pouch for sacred lots existing side by side with ordinary loincloths and sacred kilts. Moreover the

fig. 1.

fig. 2.

fig. 3.

mikneré bad or sacred kilt, does not appear to have excited any repugnance at a period of greater refinement than that of the early monarchy. That this was the case with the ephod seems to most commentators proved by the apparently intentional corruption of some of the passages[1] referring to the ephod. These commentators ex- plain this repudiation by supposing the ephod to have been made. But this was not the case. Then may not the reason for the repudi- ation of the ephod by certain writers have been that they considered it indecent? — not because it was a loincloth (that was just the reason), but because it had some connection with the phallic worship of the Canaanites? The ephod was not a phallus, which, we have constantly to remind ourselves, was daily seen by the ancients with the slightest offence; but it may have been a pouch simulating a sort of the genitalia, and showing with them the sacredness of this symbol. That these organs suggested to the ancients only profound and sacred thoughts, cannot be doubted from such references as Gen. 24, 2; 47, 29[2] where a vow was rendered the more inviolable by contact with the genitalia. The second [illegible] may [illegible] have [illegible]

[1] Cf. Dillmann on Exodus [illegible], [illegible].
[2] Cf. Dillmann's Die Genesis, Leipzig, [illegible], [illegible].

association in thought with אפרכסת (see Lev. 21, 20) which Gesenius derives from אפס to inform, to indicate, with which may be compared the Latin testes, testiculus. This derivation is impossible

Ethnological Parallels.

The ephod seems to be a special development of the primitive loincloth. The loincloth was probably the starting point of development in the direction both of the garment and the pouch. A step in this development is seen in an account by John Foreman[1], who travelled for several years in and about all the principal islands of the Philippine Archipelago and who proceeded to Paris, in October, 1899, at the request of the American Peace commission to express his views before them. In 1696, he says, the men of the Pelew Islands had a leaf-like garment around their loins, and to it was attached a piece of stuff in front, which was thrown over their shoulders and hung loose at the back. This loincloth, which cannot but remind us of the fig leaf חגורות of our first parents, Gen. 3, 7, would evidently furnish a place where articles could be carried. But the ephod was not an ordinary pouch used for general purposes. But it

(1) The Philippine Islands, 2d Ed., London, 1899, p. 69.

had a distinctly sacred character. The post-exilic ephod still retained its sa-
See above, pp. 74, 214
cred character, being a part of the כלי הקודש by which the high priest was
distinguished. This abundance of garments is not without parallel. Herbert
Spencer, in Ceremonial Institutions; Badges and Costumes, 1880, p. 151, quotes Cook as
saying of the Sandwich Islanders that quantity of clothing is a mark of position
and of the Tongans he says the same; while he tells us that in Tahiti, the higher classes
signify their rank by wearing a large amount of clothing at great inconve-
nience to themselves. The Arabs furnish an allied fact. In Kassem "it is the
fashion to multiply this important article of raiment [shirt] by putting on a second
The [illegible] hundred [illegible] in [illegible] A.D.
[illegible] in time, to [illegible]
symbol of a special class of men who were, in a way, intermediary between [illegible]
and God, for through them divine oracles were obtained. A sacred band for the
loins may be the index of this divine mission. Frazer, Golden Bough, 1890 vol. 1, p. 37,
gives instances of kings in the South Sea Islands who were regarded as divine persons
and were consulted as an oracle. He says: "At his inauguration the king of Tahiti re-
ceived a sacred girdle of red and yellow feathers, which not only raised him to the
highest earthly station, but identified him with their gods". But a still closer parallel
to the ephod is to be found among the Colorado Cliff dwellers who used a sacred
girdle of cotton cloth, which, like the later ephod, was about a span wide, and sewed

Cf. the [illegible]
Kamakosadi [illegible]

as a pocket for the priestly urim and sacred amulets (see above p. 69) used in ceremonials.[1] We do not know that the amulets were used as lots, but if so, here would be a primitive ephod with amulet lots and distinctly sacred character. No doubt many ethnological parallels will come to light when the true idea of the ephod and divination by lot are borne in mind; but there can be no reasonable doubt that it reaches back in its origin to the most primitive times.

Etymology of the Term Ephod.

No etymology yet proposed for the word אפוד has been generally accepted. The various forms of the stem which occur, are: אֵפוֹד, אֵפֹד, אֵפֹדָה, וַיָּאֶפֹד, אֵפֹדָתוֹ, אֵפֹדַת. It used to be definitely stated that אפד meant to gird or bind on, and אפוד was the thing girded on and אפדת the girding on. One difficulty with this etymology was the lack of Semitic parallels for אפד with such a meaning which is gained entirely from the context; but the chief difficulty is that critical research has shown that אפוד was in use several centuries earlier than אפד and אפדת, whence arose the later opinion that אפד is a denominative and אפדת a derivative. Another group of commentators following Lagarde (Mitt. i. p. 17, Mitheil. ii, p. 17, note c) [illegible] אפוד to נפד to come as an offerer — I finally [illegible] of approach to God. But the ephod is not a garment. [illegible]

[1] Such a sacred wallet as is here described may be seen among the ethnological [illegible] of the University of Pennsylvania [illegible]

and scholars have based a theory on the use of אפדה in Is. 30, 22 (see p 35 ff. for a consideration of this passage) that אפוד means a covering, garment, mask. But this verse is very late, and a careful study of the parallelism would favor some such idea as ornament for אפדה which may be derived from the ornamental post-exilic epheod. The form אפדה is the seg. fem. of אפוד or אפוד, and the byform עירום. For the initial ע cf. אבדם Ges.-Kautzsch §§ 23, h; 54 a. q, and Haupt, Assyr-ע-vowel, p. 26, No. 10. The Syriac equivalent of אפוד has the fem. form: פרתא with aphaeresis of the initial א, cf. Nöldeke's Syriac Gram. §. 32 (e.g. תרתא end for אחרת). A tentative explanation of אפוד has been given recently by Hubert Grimme in the Orient. Litt-Zeitung, Feb. 1901, under the title, ארץ und Stammverwandtes, who notes the phenomenon seen in the Semitic languages of פ showing a tendency to become א. He believes that there are two פ's, a soft פ which is stable, and a sharp פ which has a tendency to become א.[1] He gives several examples, among which appears קפד map together, appearing as אפד map up, and אפוד zusammenziehbare Lederstücke. This is at least the meaning [illegible]

[1] Professor Haupt has [illegible] a comparison of [illegible] פ with ظ in Arabic; cf. Allen's article in PAOS, Oct. 1888, Talcott Williams article on the [illegible] of [illegible] in Delitzsch & Assyr. [illegible] but [illegible] this theory very uncertain.

Notes.

A. See Brannius, De vestitu sacerdotum Hebr. I, 9: Docet etiam doctissimus Hottingerus in Hist. Eccl. de Religione veteris Arabum I, 9, "Koreischitas ante Islamismum sacra sua celebrasse nudos, atque ita Aedem Meccanam circuivisse". See also Robertson Smith, Religion of the Semites, pp. 161 and 450 f, where he remarks: At Mecca, in the times of heathenism, the sacred circuit of the Caaba was made by the Devotees naked, or in clothes borrowed from one of the Homs, or religious community of the sacred city. Wellhausen has shown that this usage was not peculiar to Mecca, for at the sanctuary of Nil-Jakrab also it was customary for the sacrificer to borrow a suit from the priest; and the same custom appears in the worship of the Tyrian Baal (2 Ki. 10, 22), to which it may be added that, in 2 Sa. 6, 14, David wears the priestly ephod at the festival of the bringing of the ark. He had put off his usual clothes, for Michal calls his conduct a shameless exposure of his person; see also 1 Sa. 19, 4. (cf. above p.) [illegible] Meccan custom is explained by saying that they could not perform the sacred [illegible] in garments stained with sin, but the real reason is quite different. It appears that sometimes a man did make the circuit in his own clothes, but in that case he could neither wear them again nor sell them, but had to leave them at the

gate of the sanctuary (Azkaret, p. 125; B. Hisham, p. 128 f.) They became taboo (ḥarām, as the verse cited by Ibn Hisham hints) through contact with the holy place and function. See further; also cf. Jastrow in JAOS, XX, p. 144, also XXI, 1900, p. 23, The tearing of garments, by Prof. Jastrow.

B. According to Professor Haupt's suggestion, the primitive use of חֵיק is clearly seen, in the following passages, to be associated with the sexual relation. The uses of חֵיק are here classified in five groups which are arranged chronologically according to the earliest passages quoted in each group.

1. The primitive use of חֵיק, as seen in the earliest passages, clearly refers to sexual embrace; as, Gen. 16,5, "I gave my handmaid into thy embrace". So 2 Sa. 12,8; 1 Ki. 1,2 (nearly contemp.); Prov. 5,20; Mic. 7,5; and perhaps Deut. 13,7; 28,54,56; Sir. 9,1 (?).

2. Another primitive use of חֵיק is seen in the place where a child is borne. It must be noted that the reference is not to a child at the breast, for in this case the Hebrews use the following words: יָנִק, יֹנֵק, Aram. form יְנִיקָא, יֹנֶקֶת, יָנוּק and יָנוּק. On the other hand, the reference is not to carrying a child or lamb on the shoulder, for which, see Is. 40,7. Undoubtedly the reference is to the abdominal front of the body and the lap (cf. note on Kilt p. [illegible]). So 1 Sa. 1,12 Ruth 4,16; 2 Sa. 12,3 (nearly contemp.) 1 Ki. 3,20; 17,19; Is. 40,11, Lam. 2,12.

Note that our use of *bosom* in these places is poetic and symbolical, cf. above.

3. The use is then seen to be extended to the garment about the [illegible], the lap, the folds of a garment [illegible] — the position [illegible] for putting the hand. So Ex. 4, 6, 7 (in J 850 B.C.); Ps. 35, 13; 74, 11; 79, 12; 89, 50; Prov. 6, 27; 16, 33; 17, 23; 21, 14; Is. 65, 6, 7, Jer. 32, 18.

4. Then the word is used of a curved surface, showing a similarity of development with *sinus* and κόλπος. So 1 Ki. 22, 35 (600 B.C.?); Ezek. 43, 13-17

5 Among the latest uses of the word are Job 19, 27, referring to the abdominal cavity, and Eccles. 7, 9, referring to the same figuratively as the seat of the affections.

Note the use of [illegible] Assy. [illegible] and other

C. It is noteworthy that penates always [illegible] in the [illegible] תרפים, and the two accounts of the stealing of teraphim may be compared to Aeneas taking the captured penates to Italy, Aen. I, 68. Ethnologically we could see in imagining any connection between the [illegible] peoples. On this subject cf. Brinton's Religions of Primitive Peoples, Lect I. Referring to such coincidences he says, p. 8, Professor Buchanan expresses some [illegible] which [illegible] to be the correct result of modern research in these matters.

"It is easy to prove that the striking similarity in primitive religious ideas comes not from tradition nor from relationship or historic connection of early peoples, but from the identity in the mental construction of the individual man, wherever he is found". It is not at all improbable that in Conn. Myths, Hierarchical IX, we are to understand teraphim by the statuae aeneas.

II. As has been said Ex. 39, 28 shows that בד in מכנסי הבד does not denote the material of the מכנסים; the material of the מכנסים was שש. The explanations given are artificial. The LXX omits בד. Again in Lev. 6, 3 ומכנסי בד יִלְבַּשׁ עַל בְּשָׂרוֹ even the mikneseh bad shall he put over his flesh, seems to be a gloss explaining the preceding clause מדו בד, which with the Sam. and Targum is better read מִדֵּי בד garments of the member. In Lev. 16, 4, בד between כתֹנֶת קדש may be a late addition, added after בד was misunderstood to mean linen; in the same way בד after מצנֶפת is a subsequent addition; after מכנסי and אבנֵט it is correct, although it may be secondary even after אבנֵט. Note that the בגדי הבד are worn only in the sanctuary (i.e. in P.). In Lev. 16, 32 either בגדי הבד or בגדי הקדש must be a gloss. In the same way בגדי קדש in 16, 4 is a gloss. If תגור מעור בד, 1 Sa. 2, 18, is translated ἐξωμίδα ἐφουδ (BaL) it is clear that the translator did not understand

the term. See the variants given on p. 21 above. So λίνον in the Codex Alexandrinus in 1 Sa. 22, 18 is evidently a subsequent correction following the Masorah. In 2 Sa. 6, 14 στολὴν ἐξαλλάττον is merely a guess. In 1 Chr. 15, 27, the clause בד אפוד ועל דוד לבש may have been omitted originally, [illegible] consider having substituted [illegible] for the clause; but afterwards ועל דוד אפוד בד was added under the influence of the parallel passage. The στολὴ βυσσίνη in 1 Chr. 15, 27 may be an intentional alteration just as the ἐνδεδυκὼς ποδήρη in Ezek. 9, 2. The supernatural being with the inkhorn in Ezek 9, 2, 3, 11; 10, 2, 6 may have had an אפוד בד around קְתָבָיו, and he carried the inkhorn stuck in the belt of the אפוד. In c. 10 the Greek has στολή for בדים; in v. 7 of c. 10 with the addition τὴν ἁγίαν showing that the translators did not understand the word, just as they did not understand קסת הסופר. In Dan 10, 5 קְתָבָיו [illegible] in in connection with בדים. Theodotion simply retains βαδδειν, but the true LXX has βυσσίνα, which is a guess. At the time when Mark 16, 5 was written (περιβεβλημένον στολὴν λευκήν) בדים may have been interpreted to mean long linen garment; but it is probable that there is no word בד linen; בד and אפוד בד and מכנסי בד means [illegible] (vir. pass. virilis), and בדים means [illegible] בד [illegible] is, mantica, ποδήρη etc. For this investigation of בד I am indebted to Professor

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